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THE STORY  
OF  
BARLAAM AND JOASAPH  
BUDDHISM & CHRISTIANITY.

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EDITED BY  
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WITH PHILOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES TO THE VERSION,  
♦ HARLEIAN AND BODLEIAN VERSIONS, BY THE  
REV. JOHN MORRISON, M. A., B. D.,  
*Principal, General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta.*

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## NOTE.



WHEN in London in the winter of 1893 I was almost a daily visitor to the British Museum Reading Room. There I specially interested myself in the Story of Barlaam and Joasaph, and, besides taking notes bearing upon it, copied out in MS. 'the History of the Five Wise Philosophers or the Wonderful relation of the Life of Jehosaphat', of dates 1711 and 1732, being apparently the latest form in which the Story was published in the English language. I had also intended having a translation from the original Greek. Time did not however permit. Soon after my return to Calcutta, I and my colleagues in the 'Board of Studies in English' of the Calcutta University, being called upon to define the English subjects for the Premchand Roychand Studentship Examination in 1895, agreed that one of the subjects be "the development of the English language from the earliest times to the end of the 14th century as illustrated in the Anglo-Saxon and English literature of this period," and that among the books specially recommended for study be Barlaam and Josaphat as in the Bodleian (779), Vernon (f.100) and Harleian (4196, 1996) MSS. I promised that these texts would be accessible to the students in time. As we were leaving the meeting Mr. Morrison very kindly volunteered to annotate these texts. On this understanding the work has been accomplished. Each of us was too much burdened with other labours to be able to render any help to the other in our self-imposed tasks. Hence each is wholly and solely

responsible for his own share in the work. The limit of time and the poverty of the public and private libraries of Calcutta must be held as to some extent accountable for short-comings in the work.

The introduction is mainly devoted to the rectifying of what I believe is a total misrepresentation of the facts of History with reference to the supposed influence of Buddhism on the literature of the West. As helpful towards this rectification it ought to have been noted at page xiii. that of the so-called Therapeutæ of Egypt we know nothing save what is recorded in the *De Vita Contemplativa* attributed to Philo the Jew, who lived B. C. 20 to A. D. 40. Dean Mansell and after him Mr. R. C. Dutt greatly depended on the evidence of this work ; though at the best it amounted to very little. That little is made worthless by the fact that Lucius of Strasburg in his *Die Therapeuten*, &c., 1879, has proved that not only was the work never written by Philo, but that it is a forgery of the fourth century A. D. Such eminent critics as Hilgenfeld, Künen and E. Schürer are satisfied with the proof.

ON reading *The Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*, by W. M. RAMSAY, M. A., Professor of Latin in the University of Aberdeen, formerly Professor of Classical Archaeology, Oxford, it occurred to me that of all living men, he was the man to know, yea or nay, whether Buddhism had been in Asia Minor in the first century of the Christian era. He is an expert in Latin and Greek and in the Archaeology of the time and place under consideration, as his " Historical Geography of Asia Minor," his " Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170" and his various learned articles contributed to the *Expositor* have declared him to be. He is *facile princeps* in the *palaography* of the early centuries of the Christian era. In these circumstances, I applied to him for

any information he might possess on the subject. He lost no time in sending me the following reply :—

“ THE ATHENÆUM, PALL MALL, S. W.,

17th May 1895.

“ Dear Sir,

Your letter of 24th April to Aberdeen has reached me. The book you mention will doubtless come in due course. Pray accept my thanks for it, especially as it happens that many points of interest are connected with it.

“ As to your question, I think there can be no hesitation. There is not a trace of evidence that Buddhism or Buddhistic ideas were known in Asia Minor in the first century after Christ. Even as to Mithraic rites and ceremonies, there is marvellously little trace of them in Asia Minor throughout the Roman period, as results from the very complete collection of evidence and monuments now being made (and already in part published) by M. Franz Cumont. Mithraism spread in Rome, but not in Asia Minor. I am not intending to imply that Mithraism is Buddhism, but it is held by many that Mithraism was much affected by Buddhism.

“ Almost the only proof that Mithraic ritual had spread into Asia Minor is an inscription of Amorion, discovered by myself, in which the feast called *Mithrákuna* is mentioned.

“ I am yours very truly,

W. M. RAMSAY.”

While it is hoped that all its readers will be interested in the work as a whole, it is only, it must be borne in mind, the Appendix which is especially intended for the student of “ the development of the English language.”

With reference to the philological notes I should say that these texts are here annotated for the first time in English, that the text is for the first time published by an English publisher, that they were not read for the New English Dictionary, as Dr. Murray acknowledged in a communication to Mr. Morrison, and that I feel grateful to Mr. Morrison for the learning, time and thought he has given to them. The Notes must prove greatly useful to the students.

K. S. M.

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Assembly's Institution, Calcutta.
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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE "charming half-Greek and half-Oriental story" of Barlaam and Joasaph, as it is described by Professor Rendal Harris, is of no small importance and interest from many points of view. Its origin leading us back to the Legend of Buddha and his 'Birth Stories,' the presence in it of the only extant copy in its original garb of the Apology of Aristides presented to the Emperor Hadrian in the first half of the second century, its authorship in Greek in the fifth or eighth century, its most extensive circulation and wide popularity in almost all the languages of Europe, the canonization of its two heroes by both the Greek and Latin church, its embodiment in the Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints, which, as regards sanctity, was considered as only second to the Bible, its being the supposed source of Shakespeare's story of the caskets in the *Merchant of Venice*, and then, its disappearance from circulation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and lastly its resurrection in the latter half of the nineteenth century are surely enough to waken interest in its history and in its contents in all students of religion, general literature and especially English literature.]

To the Indian Missionary it is of special interest, dealing, as it does, with the conversion of India from idolatry to Christianity, with its scenes laid in India, its leading characters Indian, and much of its matter taken from Indian or Buddhistic sources.

This latter fact raises the whole question of the supposed influence of Buddha and Buddhism on Christ and Christianity, as described in the canonical writings of the New Testament. And as the Indian missionary meets assertions on this subject, which I consider to be unmistakably false, and as such, are continually used with the evident intention of thwarting and nullifying the missionary's labours, I shall devote the greater part of this introduction to the consideration of the facts of the case, with the view of arriving at correct conclusions on the subject.

A Mr. Arthur Lillie has put together in two volumes a large mass of facts, fancies, and fictions, in a most indigested manner, with the view of proving that Essenism was Buddhism, and that Christ was an Essene monk; the first of these volumes was published a few years ago under the name of *Buddhism in Christianity*, and the second last year entitled—*The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity*. A Mr. Ernest De Bunsen has in like style attempted practically the same thing in a volume called—*The Angel Messiah of Buddhists, Essenes and Christians*, and a Prof. Seydel has written a German work on *The Legend of Buddha and the Life of Jesus*, who, however, is not guilty of publishing such utter absurdities and fictions as Messrs. Lillie and De Bunsen have; yet even he has taken up the same position and worked towards the same conclusion. Edwin Arnold in both his *Light of Asia* and *Light of the World* also presumes the same conclusions. Mr. R. C. Dutt, I. C. S., C. I. E., loses no opportunity of making like statements. A large number of writers who have never taken the trouble to examine for themselves the evidence on which the conclusions are said to be founded, have accepted the conclusions with delight to use as weapons, as they think, against Christianity.

Without formally taking up any one of these books, I shall endeavour to show that the foundations on which these arguments, conclusions and assertions are based are utterly unreliable. In other words, I shall endeavour to show that we have no reason to believe that either the Life of Buddha or the teaching or doctrine of Buddhism had any influence on the Gospels or other Scriptures of the New Testament—nay, more, that we have no reason to believe that the apostles of Christ, the writers of the New Testament, had ever heard of Buddha or of Buddhism.

This I shall attempt to do by first showing that the evidence on which the opposite contention is based is of no value; and secondly, that there is no reason to believe that Buddha or Buddhism had even been heard of in Syria, in Egypt or in Europe before the third century of the Christian era; and thirdly, that the little that is common between the Buddhist canonical writings and the Christian canonical writings is not such as to justify our believing in contact or touch between the pre-Christian Buddhistic writings and

the various books of the New Testament at or before their respective formative periods.

Taking the question up chronologically—our first knowledge of India, as far as we are aware, in which history formally tells us any thing very definite, is connected with the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great about 326 B. C., that is, in the time of Chundra Gupta, the grandfather of Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism. Buddha is supposed to have died about 150 years before Alexander the Great visited India. On the death of Alexander in 323 B. C. one of his Greek generals took charge of the Indian province of his great empire, and he, for some years, had a representative in the court of Chundra Gupta, at Patna in Magadha, the head quarters and birth place of Buddhism. This representative was Megasthenes by name, and this Megasthenes left an account of India, including among other things, which has come down to us, an account of the religious sects. In this account he never mentions Buddha or Buddhism, nor does he include in his history a sect that can be identified with any definiteness as that of the Buddhists. My opponents do not make much of Megasthenes; his silence tells altogether in favour of my contention. Daimachus, who followed him at Patna, though less trustworthy, was equally silent about Buddha and Buddhism.

† But my opponents make up for their silence about Megasthenes by the loudness of their utterances in regard to Asoka and his edicts. Asoka commenced his reign as a Hindu, became a Buddhist, but unlike many who change their religion, he did not cherish any feeling of hostility against his old faith. Hence he demanded high regard for Brahmans, and liked himself to be spoken of as the "beloved of the gods", never the "beloved of Buddha."

He caused a number of inscriptions to be engraved on rocks, pillars and stones. Some forty-five are reproduced in General Sir Alexander Cunningham's great work on the "Inscriptions of Asoka." Fourteen of these in the form of edicts, published at different periods in his reign, are found engraved continuously on rocks in various parts of Northern India from Orissa to Cabul. In none of these fourteen is there any reference to Buddha or Buddhism as such. Though all of them are religious, in not one of the forty-five is there any trait of religion that can be

regarded as peculiar to Buddhism. In one of these edicts, the second, Asoka says that in all his own dominions and in the bordering countries including those of Antiochus, the Yona or Yavana rajah, or as Hindus would now say the Mlecha rajah, care was taken for the preservation of man and beast. The dominions of Antiochus touched those of Asoka in the Punjab. So there is nothing to be astonished at in finding his name in the edict. The Bactrian kingdom, of which Antiochus was king, greatly befriended that of Magadha, of which Asoka was sovereign. Those who find Buddhism in Christianity put their confidence chiefly in the 13th edict. They make a great deal of it. Mr. R. C. Dutt regards it as the citadel of his position. In answer to my enquiries as to his authorities, it is the only definite authority to which he refers. It is the one to which he refers in his "*Lays of Ancient India*" and in his "*History of Ancient India*." The edict is supposed to prove that Buddhism had conquered Egypt and Syria, and of course all intervening countries, by means of missionaries sent out by Asoka; and that all this is definitely stated in words engraved on the rock some two hundred and fifty years before Christ; and this being so, it is easy to explain any statements of facts in the life of Christ, or any doctrine in his teaching or that of his apostles, which bear any resemblance to facts and doctrines in Buddhism, by saying that they all came from Buddhism.

My position is that the 13th of Asoka's edicts cannot carry such a weight of superstructure. In the nature of things it is utterly impossible to pile with safety a pyramid of such dimensions on such a small point. For, observe first, with regard to this edict, it is difficult to know what is its meaning. In Sir Alexander Cunningham's work the only translation he gives of the 13th is that of Mr. Prinsep's, while of the others he gives Mr. Wilson's and M. Bournouf's, and sometimes helpful notes and remarks of his own. In regard to edict xiii, he gives nothing but Mr. Prinsep's, the reason being no doubt that he could throw no light on its darkness; and Mr. Prinsep's is unintelligible. We give it below.\*

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\* The blanks are in Mr. Prinsep's original text :—

".....Whose equality, and exertion towards that object, exceeding activity, judicious conduct.....afterwards in the Kalinga provinces not to be obtained by wealth ... the decline of religion, murder, and death, and unrestrained license of mankind; when flourished the (precious maxims) of

Further, observe that in the edict itself, in none of its various forms on the different rocks on which it is found, is there mention of Syria, Egypt, or of any European, African or Asiatic country outside India. It is quite true that the word *Yona* is used and that some like Mr. Prinsep have translated it *Greek*, others *Egyptian*, &c., but it is now, I think, generally felt that it should be translated *foreign Mlecha*, that is people outside the castes, and also outside India, and especially to the west.

Further, bear in mind that the names of Ptolemy, Antiochus, Magas and Alexander were common names among the Asiatic successors of Alexander the Great; and that Asoka was not the man to forego any influence the names might give him. Asoka's praises are sung loudly in all these edicts. We need not consequently be astonished to find him (a "man of vast ambitions and vast designs," great and good as he undoubtedly was, as we learn from his own edicts and from tradition) claim power and influence with such great names. Observe also that there is nothing very definite said of these kings or of their kingdoms. Then to this add the fact that the kingdom of Kashmir was not converted to Buddhism till the first century of the Christian era, in the days of Kanishka, who was to Kashmir what Asoka was to Magadha, and Constantine to Christianity.

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Devānampīyo [the beloved of gods, i. e. Asoka], comprising the essence of learning and of science :—dutiful service to mother and father; dutiful service to spiritual teachers: the love of friend and child; (charity) to kinsfolk, to servants (to Brahmans and Sramans, &c.) which cleanse away the calamities of generations: further also in these things unceasing perseverance is fame. There is not in either class of the heretics of men, not so to say, a procedure marked by such grace, ..... nor so glorious, nor friendly, nor even so extremely liberal as Devānampīyo's injunctions for the non-injury and content of living creatures... And the Greek King besides, by whom the kings of Egypt, Ptolemaios and Antigonos (?) and Magas, ... both here and in foreign (countries), everywhere the religious ordinances of Devānampīyo effect conversion, wherever they go; ... conquest is of every description: but further the conquest which bringeth joy springing from pleasant emotions, becometh joy itself; the victory of virtue is happiness: the victory of happiness is not to be overcome, that which essentially possesses a pledge of happiness,—such victory is desired in things of this world and things of the next world!

"And this place is named the white Elephant, conferring pleasure on all the world."

The white Elephant is supposed to mean Buddha. But the context as translated by either M. Senart or by Mr. Prinsep does not favour that meaning. In any case it is a question of more or less probability.

I give below a translation of M. Senart's French rendering of the 13th edict.\* Observe how very different it is from Mr. Prinsep's.

While it is said that the king had pleasure in the success of religion all over his frontiers, and indeed all

\* 'Vast is Kalinga, conquered by king Pyadasi, dear to the gods. Hundreds of thousands of creatures there have been carried away, a hundred thousand there have been smitten. Many times the same number have died [in this conquest]. Then the king, dear to the gods, on learning this, is, immediately after the acquisition of Kalinga, turned towards religion. He is pre-occupied by religion; he has conceived zeal for religion, he has applied himself to the diffusion of religion, so great is the regret which has been felt by the king dear to the gods, (on account of what has taken place) in the conquest of Kalinga. In truth, in conquering the territory which did not submit, the murders, the deaths, the carrying away of men, which have taken place there, this has been keenly and sadly felt by me, the king, dear to the gods. But behold what has been felt more sad by the king, dear to the gods. Everywhere live Brahmans or Sramanas or other sects (ascetics) or householders; and among these men, when we watch their needs, obedience to authority reigns, obedience to fathers and mothers, kindness towards friends and companions and relations, regard for slaves and servants, fidelity in the affections. These men there [viz. in the conquest] are exposed to violence, to death, to separation from the beings who are dear to them. As to themselves, thanks to a special protection, they did not experience any personal hurt, their friends, acquaintances, companions or relations found ruin. It is in this that they (in this conquest) have borne a like blow. All violences of this kind are sadly felt by me, the king dear to the gods. There is no country where there are not known corporations such as the Brahmans and Sramanas, and there is no place in any country where men do not confess the faith of such sects. Therefore, so many people have not long ago, been smitten, are dead, have been carried away in Kalinga, the king, dear to the gods, feels today a hundred and a thousand times more sad.....In truth the king, dear to the gods, wishes to see security reigning for all creatures, respect for life, peace and gentleness. Now, it is those things that the king, dear to the gods, considers as the conquests of religion. It is in these conquests of religion, that the king, dear to the gods, finds his pleasure, and in his empire and upon all his frontiers, over an extent of many hundreds of Yojanas. Among these neighbours are Antiochus, the king of the Yonas; and to the north of this Antiochus four kings, Ptolemy, Antigone, Magas, Alexander; to the south the Codas, the Pandiyas, even to Ceylon, and even also Vismavasi (?) the king of the Huns (?) as far as among the Greeks and the Cambojas and the Nabhakas and the Nabhapantis, the Bojas, and the Petenikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas, everywhere, they conform to the religious instructions of the king, dear to the gods. There where messengers of the king, dear to the gods, have been sent, there also, after having heard from the king, dear to the gods, the duties of religion, they conform now with zeal, and they will conform to the religious instructions, to religion, this bank (or dyke) against.....It is thus that the conquest is extended in all places. I have found an inward joy; such is the contentment which the conquests of religion procure. But truly the contentment is a secondary thing, and the king, dear to the gods, does not attach great value to any fruits but those that are assured to him for the life to come. It is for this that this religious inscription has been written, to the end that our sons and grandsons may not believe that they ought

over the world, there is not a word to show clearly what success, if any, it had actually met with anywhere. Even supposing these names to refer to a king of Egypt, another of Syria, &c., it would mean nothing in the mouth of one who causes to be engraved on these same rocks: "My realm is vast, and I have cut many inscriptions, and shall have many more cut." He would like to give the impression that he was great by the side of these Greek kings, of whom he and his subjects had been hearing a great deal. The words prove nothing as to the existence or spread of Buddhism as distinguished from Hinduism or any other religion.

When all this is borne in mind, I do not think one can feel justified in concluding that the edict is proof or evidence that Buddhist missionaries in the days of Asoka went to Syria and Egypt, and conquered these countries to Buddhism. It does not prove that Asoka proselytized.

Though not of any primary importance to our argument, it may be worth mentioning that the progress of Buddhism was not at all so rapid as some would have us believe. It is questionable whether Asoka was even himself a Buddhist, as the word is now understood. The system of religion found in his inscriptions, the objects of worship, the officials of religion, and the institutions referred to are foreign to Buddhist books\* as now known. The only direct reference to Buddha and Buddhism in the hitherto discovered inscriptions of Asoka is not in any one of the 14 edicts, but in a later inscription discovered on the rock of Bairat, 41 miles due north of Jeypur: In this inscription, "the divine Buddha, the Law (or Faith) and the Assembly," the Triad of Buddhism, are named, and so also are seven books of the Buddhists.

"This important inscription," writes General Sir Alexander Cunningham concerning that on the second Bairat rock, "is the only one of all Asoka's edicts which mentions the name of Buddha, once alone as *Bhagavata Buddha*, or 'the divine Buddha,' and in another place in conjunction with *Dharma* and *Sangha*." It differs in another respect from most of the other

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to make any other new conquests; or that they may not think that the conquests by the sword merit the name of conquest; that they may see in it only fear and violence; that they consider the conquests of religion also as a true conquest. They are of value for this world and for the next, so that our sons and grandsons may make all their happiness and pleasure in religion, for these have their prize in this world and in the next."



inscriptions, in that it was not a public edict, but a private epistle, addressed not to the king's subjects in general, but to some assembly at Magadha. Copies of it, it would appear, were sent to all the greater Buddhist fraternities, one of which was at Bairat, to record the firmness of the king's faith in the law or dharma of Buddha as it was then understood\*. We give Prof. Kern's translation below.

Of the seven works mentioned in this inscription, one of them, the 'Admonition to Rahula concerning falsehood', seems to find its echo in the discourse addressed by Buddha to Rahula entitled *Rahulovāla* in the *Mahāvanso*, a work composed in Ceylon about 450 A. D. It is not in the canonical books. Of the other six it cannot be said with certainty that even an echo of them has reached us.

From all these facts it has been concluded that the Buddhism of Asoka differed very materially from that now known as existing in any Buddhistic country, or as described in any of the canonical books of Buddhism.

In support of our position we may be allowed to quote the words of Prof. H. H. Wilson, the translator of most of these Edicts and of the *Rig Veda*. As to the meaning of "conquest of religion", we may take for granted that it does not mean proselytism or conversion to Buddhism. Prof. Wilson writes—"With respect to *proselytism to the Buddhist religion*—it may not unreasonably be doubted if they [the edicts or inscriptions] were made public with any such design, and whether they have any connection with Buddhism at all." "Pyadasi intended to enjoin equal reverence to Brahmans and Buddhist teachers." No. 12 edict "exhibits this intention most unequivocally. The

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\*The inscription is thus translated by Prof. Kern :—"King Priyadarsin (that is, the Humane), of Magadha, greets the Assembly (of clerics), [or, greets the assembly of Magadha], and wishes them welfare and happiness. Ye know, Sirs, how great is our reverence and affection for the Triad which is called *Buddha* (the Master), *Faith* and *Assembly*. All that our Lord Buddha has spoken, my Lords, is well spoken : wherefore, Sirs, it must indeed be regarded as having indisputable authority ; so the true faith shall last long. Thus, my Lords, I honour (?) in the first place these religious works : *Summary of the Discipline*, *The Supernatural Powers of the Master* (or of the Masters), *The Terrors of the Future*, *The Song of the Hermit*, *The Sūtra on Asceticism*, *The Question of Upatishya*, and *The Admonition to Rāhula concerning Falsehood*, uttered by the Lord Buddha. These religious works, Sirs, I will that the monks and nuns for the advancement of their good name, shall uninterruptedly study and remember, as also the laics of the male and female sex. For this end, my Lords, I cause this to be written, and have made my wish evident." (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I., p. 132.)

prince enjoins in it no attempt at conversion, but universal respect for all forms of religious belief, his own as well as (that of) any other *Pashanda*" (*i. e.*, heretic). In fact Asoka took up very much the same position towards religion as does the Government of India at the present day:—it tells all people to be religious, especially to be moral and kind. "Obedience to parents, affection for children, friends and dependants, reverence for elders, Sramans and Brahmans, universal benevolence and unreserved toleration" was what was insisted on by Asoka. Prof. Wilson concludes—"The edicts may be taken as historical evidence that Buddhism was not yet fully established," even at its head-quarters in Magadha.

In any case we contend that the edicts of Asoka do not help much those who assert that Buddhism, as we understand the word, was known and believed in Egypt and Syria, two or three hundred years before Christ. Of the so-called three great councils of Buddhism the first two are now regarded as myths, the third may be that of the edict.

So we pass on to the next point, which is—that it is stated, on good authority, that 30,000 Buddhist monks went in 167 B. C. from Alexandria in Egypt to the Buddhist Tope at Ruanwelli in Ceylon; and that, therefore, Buddhism must have been in a very flourishing condition in Egypt in our Saviour's day, and if in Egypt then also in Palestine, and all the other steps of the argument as we had it said in regard to Asoka's edicts. Here, again, we go to the fountain head. On what authority we ask, is the statement made that 30,000 Buddhist priests went from Alexandria in Egypt to Ceylon in 167 B. C.? On the authority of the *Mahavanso*, written, as we have seen, in Ceylon about the year 450 A. D.; not a very high authority, considering that it was written some 600 years after the occurrence of the event recorded and that much of it is undoubtedly fictitious. But ignoring that difficulty, we ask what does the *Mahavanso* actually say? Here are its words:—

"The high priest of Yona with thirty thousand priests from Alasadda, the capital of the Yona country, attended" the dedication of the Buddhist Tope at Ruenwelli, Ceylon, in 167 B. C.

It will be observed that there is not a word concerning Egypt or the Egyptians, the Nile, or any country between the Indus and the Nile. Mention is made of Yona or Yavanna, and of Alexandria the capital of the Yona country,

but we have already seen that Yona or Yavanna does not mean Egypt, but simply the country of the *Mlechhas* or casteless tribes (including of course the Bactrian Greeks) to the west of the Indus. That was the Yona country. What was Alexandria the capital of it? Must we go all the way to Egypt in search of it?

Written about the same time that this dedication is said to have taken place, we have another Buddhistic book known as the *Questions of King Milinda*, the Greek *Menander*. In this book Menander is made to speak and act as a Buddhist, though there are reasons to believe that he never became a Buddhist. The book must have been written some time after his death. It is valuable because of the light it throws upon the customs, habits and beliefs of the Buddhists of the Punjab at the time. It has come down to us as a Ceylon book, it being unknown in the Punjaub, its native country, for many centuries. I refer to it because of the light it throws upon the Geography of the time. Here are two extracts from it:—

“In what district, O king, were you born?”

“There is an island called Alasadda. It was there I was born.”

“How far is Alasadda from here?”

“About two hundred leagues.”

The other passage is like to this. It runs:—

“In what town, O king, were you born?”

“There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born.”

“How far is Kalasi from here?”

“About two hundred leagues.”

“How far is Kashmir from here?”

“Twelve leagues.”

Here then we find an Alexandria or Alasadda, the name by which Alexandria is always known in the Inscriptions as in these Buddhist books. And we find it not on the Nile but on the Indus. It was besides a Greek capital; that is capital of the Yona country. We are not, however, tied down to it, or to that on the Nile, but if we were, we would have no hesitation in saying that the capital of Menander on the Indus was much the more likely of the two to send 30,000 Buddhist monks to Ceylon in 167 B. C. than Alexandria on the Nile.

The great Geographer of the early centuries of the Christian era was Ptolemy. We look to him for light on this matter and also to Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, the Buddhist period; and we do not look in vain. These standard authors are the most authoritative existing on the Geography of the Buddhist world at the time under notice. In these books we find what we are looking for, an Alexandria, which to the Punjabi and Singhalese would be "Alasadda, the capital of the Yona country." It is the Alexandria Opiane on the Chorband river, not far from the foot of the old Caucasus and 27 miles from the present Cabul. Masson says that even now the site is "distinguished by its huge artificial mounds, from which at various times copious antique treasures have been extracted." In another place he notes that "it possesses many vestiges of antiquity; yet as they are exclusively of a sepulchral or religious character, the site of the city to which they refer may rather be looked for on the plain below and nearer Charikar." Sir Alexander Cunningham, from whose ancient *Geography of India* I quote the above, calls it a "famous city," "the Greek capital,"—in other words, to the Indian writer, "the capital of the Yona country." He adds that at the time of the visit of the Chinese Buddhist traveller in the seventh century A.D. the districts of Kabul, Jalalabad, Peshawar, Ghazni and Banu were all subject to the ruler whose capital was Charikar or "Alexandria ad Caucasum."

This then, and not Alexandria in Egypt, was the capital of the Yona country from which the High Priest with the 30,000 priests went to Ceylon. This is the furthest west in all conscience we can place it: If this be too far away then we are satisfied with the Alexandria of Menander in the Indus, whose gold coin of 180 B. C. is still extant.

We would now proceed to consider the next pillar on which this house of cards is supposed to be built. Paul in one of his epistles to the Corinthians speaks of a work of supposed merit in the words—"giving his body to be burned." This is believed to have reference to a Buddhist who cremated himself in Athens in the days of Cæsar Augustus. We are told that he was an 'Indian Philosopher' and was called *Sarmana*. Now the word *Sramana* is used largely in Buddhist books for 'a Buddhist monk,' and rightly so, as distinguishing him from a Brahmana. The latter is a man belonging to the highest caste of the Hindus who lives

a religious life in accordance with the Brahmanic rules. But inside Hinduism (as well as outside it) there have always been large numbers of men in all times, who lead religious lives outside the Brahmanic rules just as Buddhist monks used to live, but still Hindus. They are now-a-days spoken of as 'Ascetics,' 'Sadhus,' 'Suniasis,' 'Swamis,' and 'Paramhansas.' All such who lived in this style were called *Sarmanas*. That this man who committed suicide in Athens was a Buddhist I do not believe, for three reasons, first, the word *Sramana* decides nothing; secondly, he was an Indian Philosopher. A Hindu ascetic would be much more likely to be called a Philosopher than a Buddhist monk—whether that Hindu be a Naiyayika, a Sankhya, a Vedantin, or any other philosopher. And in the third place, while a Hindu philosopher might regard suicide as a work of merit, it is not likely a Buddhist monk would. Buddha utterly condemned suicide. All Hindu philosophers did not. Many a Hindu ascetic might be a worshipper of Agni, and might consider it a work of great merit to offer himself a sacrifice to his god. Suttee was a Hindu institution, not a Buddhistic institution. For these reasons I conclude that the Indian Philosopher who burned himself to death at Athens was a Hindu, not a Buddhist.

Here ends our consideration of the evidence, if such it may be called, in support of the idea that Buddhist missionaries went from India to Western Asia, Europe and Egypt, to propagate Buddhism before the third century of the Christian era. The negative evidence, *per contra*, I consider of very great value. Look for example at this: From the days of Megasthenes to the opening years of the third century of the Christian era—there have come down to us an immense amount of literature, Greek and Roman, Classic and Christian, no end of inscriptions in stone, as well as MSS. almost without limit, very many of them written during these six hundred years, discussing all manner of subjects, and especially religious subjects and sects and parties, by men who, as we are told on good authority, "spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing," and not one among them ever uses the word Buddha or Buddhism, or gives any definite description of either.

But what, it may be asked, of the Essenes of Syria and the Therapeuts of Egypt? Were not these largely influenced by Buddhism? Does not Dean Mansell admit that they were? Dean Mansell does admit this to a certain extent, but that

was because of his unfounded belief in Buddhist missionaries having been in Egypt. In his *Sources of Gnosticism* he writes:—"The Indian influence in a modified form may chiefly be traced in those forms of Gnosticism which sprang up in Egypt, and which appears to have been visited by Buddhist missionaries from India within two generations from the time of Alexander the Great, and where we may find permanent traces of Buddhist influence established, at all events, before the Christian era." In a foot note he adds—"The king to whom the mission is attributed is Asoka, the grandson of Chundra Gupta (*Sandracothus*) the contemporary of Alexander." Dean Mansell proceeds in the text—"The Therapeutæ, or contemplative monks of Egypt, described by Philo, appear to have sprung from an union of the Alexandrian Judaism with the precepts and modes of life of the Buddhist devotees, and though their asceticism fell short of the rigour of the Indian practice, as their religious belief mitigated the extravagance of the Indian speculation, yet in their ascetic life, in their mortification of the body and their devotion to pure contemplation, we may trace at least a sufficient affinity to the Indian mystics to indicate a common origin.....To the Buddhism of India, modified again probably by Platonism, Gnosticism was indebted for the doctrines of the antagonism between spirit and matter and the unreality of derived existence (the germ of the Gnostic Docetism), and in part at least for the theory which regards the universe as a series of successive emanations from the Absolute Being." pp. 31, 32.

Eliminating from the above the reference to the visit to Egypt by the Buddhist missionaries, for which, as we have seen, there is not a shred of real historic evidence, what remains is founded on ignorance of the nature and teaching of Buddhism. The practices and teachings referred to were possibly Indian, though not probably, and certainly by no means exclusively so; but they were not Buddhistic. Buddha taught absolutely nothing of emanations from the Supreme Being or the antagonism between spirit and matter. He was not a contemplative mystic and his asceticism was not characterised by its rigour, as compared either with that of certain Hindu sects, or even with that of so-called Christians. On the other hand, it was characterised by its moderation. Dean Mansell's knowledge of Buddhism must have been very limited, and as regards the history of the period, he could not hold a candle to Bishop Lightfoot; and

Bishop Lightfoot was thoroughly convinced that not a trace of the influence of Buddhism, or indeed of anything Indian, was to be found in Essenism, or in any form or heresy of Christianity before the third century of the Christian era. In his learned Essay on the Essenes he writes:—

“Nor is the presence of any Buddhist establishment even on a much smaller scale in this important centre of western civilization (Alexandria in Egypt) at all reconcilable with the ignorance of this religion, which the Greeks and Romans betray at a much later date. For some centuries after the Christian era we find that the information possessed by western writers was most shadowy and confused; and in almost every instance we are able to trace it to some other cause than the actual presence of Buddhists in the Roman Empire. Thus, Strabo, who wrote under Augustus and Tiberius, apparently mentions the Buddhist priests,\* the Sramanas, under the designation Sarmanae; but he avowedly obtains his information from Megasthenes who travelled in India somewhere in the year 300 B. C. and wrote a book on Indian affairs. Thus too Bardesanes at a much later date (fl. 172 A. D.) gives an account of these Buddhist ascetics, without, however, naming the founder of the religion; but he was indebted for his knowledge of them to conversations with certain ambassadors who visited Syria on their way westward in the reign of one of the Antonines. Clement of Alexandria, writing in the latest years of the second century (A. D.) or the earliest of the third, for the first time mentions Buddha by name, and even he betrays strange ignorance of this Eastern religion. Still later than this, Hippolytus, (230 A. D.) while he gives a fairly intelligent, though brief, account of the Brahmins, says not a word about the Buddhists, though if he had been acquainted with their teaching, he would assuredly have seen in them a fresh support to his theory of the affinity between Christian heresies and pre-existing heathen philosophies... There is apparently no notice† in either heathen or Christian writers, which points to the presence of a Buddhist within the limits of the Roman Empire, till long after the Essenes had ceased to exist.” “It is not

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\* On the authority of Colebrooke we shall see below that the Sarmanae referred to by Strabo were not Buddhists, but Hindu ascetics, distinct from the Buddhists, as Clement of Alexandria held.

† Bishop Lightfoot makes one exception, that of the Indian philosopher who cremated himself at Athens; but we have seen that he was no exception.

till some centuries later, when Manichæism starts into being, that we find for the first time any traces of the influence of Buddhism on the religions of the west."

Before finishing this part of our subject, I must look back again on Megasthenes, in connection with Clement's use of him.

The first mention of Buddha in Western literature is found in a work named *Stromata* or "Miscellanies" by the Greek philosopher Titus Flavius Clemens, who, after a thorough study of all the existing systems of Western philosophy and of all branches of Hellenic literature, and finding nothing to satisfy his thirst after truth in them, in mid-life became a Christian, and some time thereafter a Presbyter of the Church of Alexandria in Egypt, and about 189 A.D. became president of the Catechetical School of that city. As the passage in which he refers to Buddha is frequently misquoted or misunderstood, and among others by Mr. Arthur Lillie, I shall give it here in full from his works as translated by Dr. W. Wilson and edited by Dr. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson LL.D. in Clark's Ante-Nicene Library.

"Thus philosophy, a thing of the highest utility, flourished in antiquity among the barbarians, shedding its light over the nations. And afterwards it came to Greece. First in its ranks were the prophets of the Egyptians; and the Chaldeans among the Assyrians; and the Druids among the Gauls (Kelts); and the Samanæans among the Bactrians; and the philosophers among the Kelts; and the Magi of the Persians who foretold the Saviour's birth, and came into the land of Judea guided by a star. The Indian gymnosophists (*i. e.*, naked philosophers, or *Digambaris*) are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. *Of these there are two classes*, some of them called Sarmanæ and others Brahmans. And of those of the Sarmanæ who are called Hylobioi (inhabitants of the woods) neither inhabit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not marriage, nor begetting of children.

"Some, too, of the Indians obey the precepts of Boutta (Buddha); whom, on account of his extraordinary sanctity, they have raised to *divine honours*.

"Anacharsis was a Scythian, and is recorded to have excelled many philosophers among the Greeks," &c.



Some read the passage from the words *Of these there are two classes* down to *divine honours* which I have italicized, as if the whole were a quotation from Megasthenes. We have no reason to regard the sentence about Buddha as such; for in the first place, Strabo quotes the passage in full with its context, and the sentence about Buddha is not in it; and secondly Megasthenes knew of only two classes, but here is a third class. Colebrooke, on the passage before us, remarks in his *Observations on the Sect of the Jains*—"Here to my apprehension, the followers of Buddha are clearly distinguished from the Brachmanes and Sarmanes, the ascetics of a different religion, and may have belonged to a sect of Jains or to another. It may, therefore, be confidently inferred that the followers of the Vedas flourished in India when it was visited by the Greeks under Alexander and continued to flourish from the time of Megasthenes who described them in the fourth century before Christ, to that of Porphyrius who speaks of them on later authority in the third century after Christ." That is, in other words, the Brahmanes flourished all the time in which we are looking for Buddhistic influence, and the Buddhists are only at its close being heard of for the first time.

To the *two* classes, of which Megasthenes and Strabo speak, Clement now at the close of the second century adds a *third*, of which he speaks very haltingly, and Porphyrius more confidently in the third century. The latter died 305 A.D. Both these writers had their information not from Megasthenes but from other sources.

Clement's knowledge was meagre in the extreme.

Look at this great and learned Philosopher's words, with the view of discovering what was the extent of his knowledge or ignorance of Buddha and Buddhism. First of all he does not know even the name correctly. He calls him *Boutta* not Buddha. Then, again, he is ignorant of the very basis of Buddha's character, that which secured to him whatever honours he received from his followers—it was not 'sanctity' but 'enlightenment,' that on account of which he was called *the Buddha* or *the Enlightened*; thirdly, he was ignorant of the very fundamental principle of Buddhism. The possession of any 'sanctity' would prevent the attainment of Buddha's *summum bonum*—*nirvana*. If Buddha had any sanctity as Clement understood 'sanctity,' it would have necessitated his re-incarnation in order that he might enjoy its rewards. According to Buddhism, Buddha, when

he died, had neither sanctity nor guilt—nothing to deserve reward, nothing to call for punishment. Of this basal principle of Buddhism, Clement was clearly ignorant. The fact is that Clement was in dense fog as to both the name and character of Buddha, and as to the aim and nature of Buddhism; and yet he was one of the most distinguished of the men of light and learning of his age.

But from his day onwards light as to the Buddha and his so-called religion crept in into Europe. There has never been much, or at least not until very recent times. There could not have been much during the long history of the popularity of 'Barlaam and Jehosaphat.' Otherwise its character as founded on Buddha and Buddhism would have been discovered at its first publication, instead of towards the close of the nineteenth century.

I have now disposed of the whole evidence, professing to be historical, which has been adduced in support of the contention that Buddhism influenced Christ and his apostles.

Up to this we have looked at the question altogether from outside both the Buddhist and the Christian canon. It is now time that we looked inside these, and first of all into the Buddhist canon. On our doing so, the first thing that strikes us is the want of resemblance it bears to what we found in the edicts of Asoka. As we have already seen, the Buddhism of Asoka is not the Buddhism of the present canon, nor of present Buddhistic countries. The works named on the Asoka inscriptions are not named in the present canon.

From this it would appear that these seven books constituted the Buddhistic canon in Asoka's day, some 250 years after the death of Buddha. Further, let it be observed, among the seven there is not one life or biography of Buddha. There are at present in circulation quite a library of lives of Buddha, but there is no reason to believe that any one of them was in existence before the death of Christ, that is some 500 years after Buddha died. In comparing the life of Buddha with that of Christ, it is well to bear this in mind, that if missionaries of Buddhism found their way into Syria or Egypt before Christ, they could not have carried with them into the West any life of Buddha.

Buddhists classify their Canon into Three Baskets (*Tripitaka*) of books—the first and most important being the *Vinaya Pitaka*, a collection of discourses addressed to the Order of ascetics; the second, the *Sutta Pitaka*, discourses

intended specially for such as had not joined the Order ; and lastly the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, which contains the metaphysics of Buddhism. Not a life of Buddha is to be found in any one of the baskets or in all put together. Incidents are indeed related of Buddha in the canonical books, but experts tell us that "these incidents have altogether the appearance of being mere inventions," that "actual remembrance of the Buddha and of his time could have sufficed only in the rarest instances to give a correct historical basis for the rules or ceremonies which had to be explained." Indeed, not one of the older books gives any account of any part of Buddha's life, save the *Maha-parinibbana Sutta* which professes to describe events connected with his death and none other. (

Unlike Hindus, Jews, and Christians, the Buddhists have never fenced their scriptures against interpolations and other corruptions of the text. Hence these scriptures cannot, unfortunately, be depended upon as entirely authentic ; and it will always be difficult, even when the whole of the *Suttas* have been published, to attempt to discriminate between the original doctrine of Gautama and the later accretions to or modifications of it. Buddha himself wrote nothing ; and we know absolutely nothing of the writers, who they were, or when or where they lived, not even their names. They were written at a time and place where the science of history was unknown, and they make no allusion to any event of the outer world by which their age might be approximately fixed.

That which one finds most frequently quoted as having nearest approach to Christian doctrine is *Dhammapada* ; it forms a part of the Three Baskets. Its authorship is unknown, and there is no certainty as to its date. Professor Beal dates it at about 70 B. C. Professor Max Müller thinks the first century B. C. was the time when it was first formally settled in writing. It, however, tells us nothing of the life of Buddha. I repeat, in the words of Professor Oldenberg, the original Pali Texts of the Buddhist Scriptures "contain neither a biography of the Buddha nor even the slightest trace of the former existence of such a work." All the lives of Buddha are post-Christian, many of them very much so. There is an old work from which stories are frequently quoted as if they formed incidents in the life of Buddha. This work contains some 550 old fables and fairy tales or stories believed to have been collected

long before the Christian era. They have come down to us with a commentary applying each story to Buddha, and giving the events as if in one or other of Buddha's lives and also the event in his last life which led to his first telling the story. This commentary, which connects the stories with Buddha, forms the larger part of the work, but it was not written earlier than the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. The *Lalitā Vistara* is frequently quoted or referred to as an authoritative life of Buddha, yet it is not in the canon; though, as one of the *Nine Dhammas*, it has authority with the Northern Buddhists. It was not in existence when the founders of the Southern Buddhists separated from the Northern and carried all the sacred books with them to Ceylon. As to its date authorities differ somewhat. The late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, who translated a good part of it into English, says: "We have nothing more positive than inference founded on insufficient conjecture"; though he and some others are inclined to believe that it was in China in 69 or 70 A. D. A Tibetan version is believed by Foucaux to have been made not earlier than the sixth century of the Christian era, and Rhys Davids adds that it is "quite uncertain" how much older than the Tibetan version "the present form of the Sanscrit work may be"; in a later work he dates it "any time from the first to the sixth century after Christ."

The Life of Buddha, known as *The Lotus of the True Law*, another of the *Nine Dhammas*, has no value as to primitive Buddhism. It reached China 265 to 316 A. D. We shall speak further below of it.

Beal's *Romantic Legend* goes back, it is believed, to 70 A. D. But Dr. Eitel asserts that the legends in this work "which claim to refer to events centuries before Christ can not be proved to have been in circulation earlier than the fifth or sixth century after Christ."

Bishop Bigandet's *Legend of Gautama* is an English translation of a Burmese work, originally written in the eighteenth century of the Christian era, that is last century. It has no authority whatever. Alabaster's *Wheel of the Law* is a translation of a Siamese work of equal, that is no authority. The same may be said of Asva-Ghosh's *Buddha-Charita* and other Mahayana or Broad way Texts.

We have said enough of the so-called Lives of Buddha to show that they could have no influence on the writers of our gospels or on the rest of the New Testament canon.

To use the words of Dr. Eitel,—“No reliable information exists as to the extent and character of the Buddhist Scriptures, said to have been finally revised by the Council of Kanishka in the first century of the Christian era. The earliest compilation of the modern Buddhist canon that history can point to is that of Ceylon. But the canon of Ceylon was handed down orally from generation to generation. Part of it was reduced to writing about 93 B.C....The whole canon however was first compiled and fixed in writing between the years 412 and 432” of the Christian era. The Chinese Buddhist canon was not completed until 1410 A.D.

In these circumstances, if there has been obligation, I think it is more probable that the Buddhist scriptures are indebted to the Christian than the reverse. And so we find Prof. Beal contending. In his *Buddhist Literature in China*, he says :—“Altogether, having translated the Buddha-charita throughout, and also the greater portion of Asva Ghosha’s sermons, I am impressed with the conviction that Christian teaching reached his ears at the time when Asva Ghosha was in Parthia, or at any rate in Bactria (*viz.* : about A. D. 70), and that he was influenced by it so far as to introduce into Buddhism the changes we find beginning to take shape at this period. The doctrine of a universal salvation and of Buddha’s incarnation by the descent of the Spirit, and by a power of Buddhi, or Wisdom, by which we are made sons or disciples—these and other non-Buddhist ideas found in Asva Ghosha’s writings, convince me that there was such an intercommunication at this time between east and west as shaped the later school of Buddhism into a pseudo-Christian form : and this accounts very much for some other inexplicable similarities” (Introduction, p. xiv).

In comparing texts from Buddhistic writings with those from the Christian, it is of the very highest importance to pay attention to the chronology : the more so as a great deal of the Buddhistic Scriptures were written, as we have seen, in Christian times. Unless this is done, it is impossible to say where the obligation lies, if there be any.

Another thing which must not be forgotten in making such comparisons is that the fundamental terms used in the passages compared, while seemingly identical, may be as wide apart in meaning as the poles. Take as

an illustration that beautiful passage from the *Dhammapada* :

“ Rise up and loiter not !  
Follow after a holy life !  
Who follows virtue rests in bliss,  
Both in this world and the next !  
Follow after a holy life.  
Follow not after sin.”

That looks very Christian. Really there is little or nothing Christian in it. As a Christian text it would mean Live near to God, in communion with Him, thinking His thought, doing His work, obeying His commandments ; and thinking nothing that would be contrary to His will ; Love Him with all thy nature, and thy neighbour as thyself in all things, desiring, earnestly desiring after growth in holiness, increased usefulness in God’s service, and so on ;—where God, love, service and desire after the good and the true, form the leading thoughts.

To the mind of a Buddhist, none of these ideas would be present. He would never think of God, or His law, His service or His glory. To love any one, or any thing, he would regard as sinful. To desire any thing, even life itself or existence, wife or child, progress or growth, usefulness in God’s or man’s service, is what he regards as the source of all evil. Perfection in holiness to the Buddhist is the total extinction of desire and action just as his salvation, perfect salvation, is utter extinction of consciousness.

Unless such things are remembered while attempting your comparison, the whole process may be totally vitiated.

After taking these points into consideration and giving the proper place and value to the historical matters on which I have dwelt, and after comparing together those passages of the New Testament and of Buddhist scriptures which are supposed to be so like one another, but which time will not allow us to consider fully here, and after valuing aright the essential antipodal characters of the two religions, the weakest conclusion to which we can come is that of Prof. Kuenan, who cannot be suspected of any bias in favour of Christianity. His words are—“ I think that we may safely affirm that we must abstain from assigning to Buddhism the smallest direct influence on the origin of Christianity.” *Hilbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 360.

Let us now consider some of those passages in the New Testament which are supposed to have been influenced by Buddhism. We select those which seem to have any point.

But before doing so it would be well to remind ourselves that the truth or value of Christianity is not at all affected by the conclusion to which we may come. For, the discovery of any passage or passages in the Bible in regard to which it might be said that the thought expressed in them had originally appeared in Buddhistic writings does not affect their value or truthfulness, or the value of the Bible. All that we could say is that now they had given to them greater and more extended usefulness, and also the authority which the Spirit of God has given to the Bible.

“I am the truth”, said Jesus; and his beloved disciple said concerning Him—“He was the true light, even the light which lighteth every man coming into the world.” “From Him comes down every good and perfect gift.” He is the Word which “was in the beginning with God,” which “was God.” He was the light which shineth in the darkness even when the darkness comprehended it not. Christians have not, therefore, hesitated to receive as Christ’s whatever truth they have found in any part of the world or among any people whoever they might be. All light, if it be real true natural light, must be from the sun. And all real spiritual truth is from its one source. Christians also believe that all truth must harmonise. Thus, supposing it was shown that Christ or His Apostles had appropriated truth from any other system of religion, it would not be considered either strange or in any way derogatory to Christianity; on the other hand we would consider it a higher honour, a further proof of its universal character and of its universal destiny. But history is history and truth is truth. And if it be true history, and therefore truth, that our Saviour and His Apostles took nothing from Buddha or Buddhism, let it be known, and the instruction which that fact is fitted and intended to convey be thankfully received. While we believe that neither Christianity nor Judaism ever came in contact with Buddhism during the formative period of either, and while we believe that in all essential points they differ in a most remarkable manner, yet we have no difficulty in admitting that there are minute points in which they agree. And, as might be expected, they agree more in such matters as affect worldly wisdom or human character. This will be seen by reference to the

books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, where is seen an agreement which does not go any length in the way of proving contact. The book of Proverbs was written not only before any Buddhistic writing was composed, but before Buddha himself was born.

To understand the force of what follows, it is necessary to bear in mind that there is satisfactory evidence, historical in its nature, to prove that the whole New Testament was in writing and circulating among the Christian Churches as early as the middle of the second century, that is by the year 150 A.D., and the four Epistles of Paul, viz., Romans, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, and Galatians before the year 70 A. D. This places us on solid ground of authentic history in the centre of the Roman Empire in the middle of the first century of the Christian era: within thirty-seven years after the death of Christ.]

It is of importance that we also remember that Christians, like Jews, were scrupulously particular in preserving the purity of their sacred writings; that these were regularly read at their weekly gatherings from the time when they were first written down to the present day, and that all Christians whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, Unitarians, infidels, and even Muhammadans\* allow the writings of the New Testament to be genuine writings of the first two centuries of the Christian era; and that all Christians accept all these as their sacred authoritative Scriptures. While it is quite true that Roman Catholics and Protestants differ very materially on many points they are absolutely agreed in accepting these books as their sacred books.

In contrast with all this we have to remember that there are two classes of Buddhists so very distinct that they have very little in common. They have no common Scriptures, they have no common God or common object of worship, nor a common founder of their religion, though he passes by a common name. The one class we shall refer to under the name of the Northern Buddhists of the Broad Way and the other as the Southern Buddhists of the Narrow Way. The Northern are those of Thibet, China, and Japan, the Southern are those of Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam.

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\* We have extant now MSS. of the New Testament, which may be seen and handled, which had been written before long Muhammad was born.



The sacred books of the Northern Buddhists are the nine *Dhammas*, among which are the *Lalita-Vistara* and *Saddharma-Pundarika* or "the Lotus of the True Law." Both these are accessible to the English-speaking public. The others are not as yet. There is no evidence that any one of the nine was in existence as we now have it till long after the canon of the New Testament was closed. It is hard to say whether a single legend or dogma found in these books could be fairly proved to have had an origin anterior to the fourth century A.D. It is certain that they were current in India in the seventh century A.D. and that is about all that can be said with certainty of them.

The "Lotus," Vol. 21 of the Sacred Books of the East, is the very cream of the orthodoxy of Northern Buddhism, the supreme, the most sublime, the crown jewel of all its sacred books. Let our readers by all means obtain a reading of the volume, and tell their friends what they think of it. It is the one out of the nine books which the Northern Buddhists worship, and which as yet has found a place in the Sacred Books of the East. Its translator, Kern, says that the Buddha or Sakya-muni of the "Lotus" is an ideal, a personification, and not a person. "Traits borrowed, or rather surviving, from an older cosmological mythology, and traces of ancient nature worship abound in the Lotus.....It is just possible that the ancient doctors of the Mahayana (the *Broad way* of the Northern Buddhism) have believed that such an ideal once walked in the flesh here on earth, but the impression left by the spirit and the letter of the whole work does not favour that supposition," p. xxviii.

According to the older and more authentic works of the Southern Buddhists, Buddha professed to speak of himself as merely a human being who worked out for himself a scheme of salvation from desire, suffering, and reincarnation. He professed not to believe in God or soul or in any Supreme Being. In the Lotus, on the other hand, he himself is represented as the Supreme Being, as the god of the gods, almighty and all-wise, invested in all the glory and majesty of a sovereign, as illuminator, the vivifier of the world, just as the sun is in nature-worships, and the Narayana is in Hinduism. The sacred books of the Southern Buddhists represent him as becoming the Buddha at Gaya, and to have entered Nirvana at Kusiagara, after eating a meal of pork. In the "Lotus" he presents himself as becoming the Buddha long

before he was in Gaya. And as to entering Nirvana, he only makes a show of Nirvana out of regard for the weakness of men. He, the Father of the world, the self-born one, the chief and Saviour of creatures, produces a semblance of Nirvana, whenever he sees men given to error and folly. In reality his being is not subject to complete Nirvana; it is only by a skilful device that he makes a show of it; and repeatedly he appears in the world of the living. I need not point out how very different all this is from what we find in the Southern or older canon.

The other most popular work in the Northern canon is *Lalita Vistara*, which is extant in various forms and renditions and in various languages. The Sanskrit, translated by the late Dr. Rajendra Lalla Mitra, and one of the Chinese versions translated by Mr. Beal under the name of "The Romantic Legend," which Chinese version is itself a translation of an enlarged rendition of an older form of the *Lalita Vistara*—all these differ very largely from one another. Buddhists do not seem to have ever hesitated to add to or subtract from their sacred books whenever it occurred to any of them to do so. As none of the many versions we possess can be traced up to a time anterior to the formation of the Christian canon, they are of no use for our purpose. Dr. Eitel, who is regarded as a high authority in these matters, says of nearly all the legends or stories in the *Lalita Vistara*, which claim "to refer to events centuries before Christ, that they cannot be proved to have been in circulation earlier than the fifth or sixth century after Christ." Eitel, p. 43. As an example of the treatment the sacred books have met with take Asva Ghosha's *Buddha Charita* (Life of Buddha), a standard classic of the Northern Buddhists. A modern Nepalese Buddhist author writes that four cantos being missing in the MSS. four cantos were composed by him and added to it. (See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 49, p. xi.) The sacred texts are said even by the Buddhists themselves to have been greatly corrupted by the Members of the Great Council. The author of the *Dipavansa* says (*Buddhist Birth Stories*, vol. i., p. lvii.):

"The monks of the Great Council turned the religion upside down,  
They distorted the sense and the teaching of the five *Nikayas*;  
In part they cast aside the *Sutta* and the *Vinaya*, so deep,  
And made an imitation *Sutta* and *Vinaya*, changing this to that."

And the *Mahavansa* (Chap. xxxii, p. 207) says—"The profoundly wise priests had hitherto orally perpetuated the *Pali Pitakatraya* and its *Autra Katha* (Commentary.) At this period the priests, foreseeing the perdition of the people (from the perversions of the true doctrine, in order that religion might endure for ages) recorded the same in books." (See also p. ix.) The Buddhists never claimed inspiration for their books, nor have they taken good care of them from corruption.

Dr. Eitel brings together so very briefly the points of which men like Messrs. Lillie, De Bunsen and Dutta make so much in their ignorance of historical Buddhism that we are tempted to reproduce them here:—"Shákiyamuni"—we are told—"came from heaven, was born of a virgin welcomed by angels, received by the old saint, was endowed with prophetic vision, presented in a temple, baptised with water, and afterwards baptised with fire, he astonished the most learned doctors 'by his understanding and answers' he was led by the spirit into the wilderness, and having been tempted by the devil, he went about preaching and doing wonders. The friend of publicans and sinners, he is transfigured on a mount, descends to hell, ascends up to heaven—in short, with the single exception of Christ's crucifixion, almost every characteristic incident in Christ's life is to be found narrated in the Buddhistic traditions of the life of Shákya-muni Gautama Buddha," in one or other of the various so-called lives in circulation, from the *Lalita Vistara* to the "Light of Asia."

One naturally concludes after reading the above that there must have been borrowing, and, considering that Buddha lived some 500 years *before* Christ, that the borrowing must be all on the part of the writers of the New Testament; and so Messrs. Lillie, De Bunsen and Dutta in their ignorance conclude. Let us see what the learned Dr. Eitel says. Here are his words:—

"It can be proved," says Dr. Eitel "that almost every single tint of this Christian colouring, which Buddhist tradition gives to the life of Buddha, is of comparatively modern origin. There is not a single Buddhist MS. in existence which could vie, in antiquity and undoubted authenticity, with the oldest codices of the gospels. Besides, the most ancient Buddhistic classics contain scarcely any details of Buddha's life, and none whatever of those above-mentioned peculiarly Christian characteristics." Of nearly all the

above given legends, which claim to refer to events that happened many centuries before Christ, it is said by Dr. Eitel that scarcely one of them can "be proved to have been in circulation earlier than the fifth or sixth centuries *after* Christ." p. 15. "The Codex Vaticanus was written in the course of the fourth century, one hundred years before the first edition of the Buddhist scriptures was undertaken, of which not a single ancient M. S. has withstood the ravages of time, and which has never yet been examined by either friend or foe," p. 25.

We have already seen that neither Bishop Bigandet's 'Legend of Gaudama,' nor Mr. Alabaster's 'Wheel of the Law' has any authority. We have now disposed of much literature of sorts which should have never been mentioned in connection with the question before us, viz.—the supposed influence of Buddhism on primitive Christianity, or rather on the Christian canon. ✓

Having rejected all these so-called lives of Buddha, it will very naturally be asked—What is then the authoritative life of Buddha? We have to answer that there is none. In the three Pitakas, constituting as they do the Canon of the Southern Buddhists and which include all Buddhist Scriptures known to have come down to us from before Christ, among all the writings bulking into more matter than twice the size of the Christian Bible, Old Testament and New, there is no life or memoir of Buddha, not even a sketch of his life or character. Buddhists were taught to put their trust, not in the life, or person, or character of Buddha, but in his teaching, his rules and regulations as to manner of life. Hence of these there is abundance, but of his own life and history, or of the history of his times we have next to nothing, and nothing at all that bears any resemblance to the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth. We have however some incidents mixed up with the rules which go some length when pieced together to give us some idea of him when commencing his public life, and again when closing it, with an incident or two somewhere intermediate between the two. In none of these do we find a word about the temptation under the influence of lust or fear. We read nothing in all this literature of a deed of mercy, self-sacrifice, or kindness which he performed, sole and except that he poured out on Roga, the Mallian, such an effluence of love that he could not but follow him as a calf follows its mother the cow, and his kind treatment of his sick follower of whom

see *Magavagga*, viii. 26, 3. This act and the utterance which accompanied it would be worthy of a Christian, and as far as the deed is concerned we would fain believe that all real Christians would be found equal to the occasion.

There is yet a *third* literature to which we might refer before taking up formally that of the Southern Buddhists, which is really the literature with which the question before us has to do. I refer to that which is known as Esoteric Buddhism, or that of the Theosophical Society whose headquarters was first at New York, then at Bombay, then at Madras, and now at London; but which if there be any truth in it should be in Tibet, or more particularly in the Tibetan Himalaya.

We shall satisfy ourselves by producing the authority of two well known experts on the subject. The first is Professor Max Muller, who in one of his very latest works, his Gifford Lectures called 'Physical Religion,' p. 349, says:—

"Why should so many people write about Buddhism without reading the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists, or, at least those portions of it which have been translated into English and published in my series of the Sacred Books of the East? Why should they instead read fanciful novels or worse than imaginary accounts of Mahatmas and Theosophists, which if they contain a few grains of Buddhism, contain tons of rubbish and trash? It is a shame to see so beautiful a religion as Buddhism is, in many of its parts, misrepresented, caricatured, nay, degraded by many of those who call themselves Neo-Buddhist, or Theosophist, and who by their ignorance try to impose on the ignorance and credulity of the public."

Elsewhere Professor Max Müller records an equally strong opinion in the words:—

"There is nothing that cannot be traced back to generally accessible Brahmanic or Buddhistic sources, only everything is muddled or misunderstood. If I were asked what Madame Blavatsky's Esoteric Buddhism really is, I should say it was Buddhism misunderstood, distorted, caricatured. There is nothing in it beyond what was known already, chiefly from books that are now antiquated. The most ordinary terms are misspelt and misinterpreted." *The Nineteenth Century* May, 1893, p. 775.

In *The Questions of Milinda* iv. 4, 8., Mr. Rhys Davids writes in a foot note. "It will be noticed that there is no mention here of any Esoteric Buddhism." So above at iv, 1-8,

it is stated that a good Buddhist teacher should keep nothing secret from his pupil. And even in so old a text as the 'Book of the Great Decease' Chap. ii sec. 32, p. 36, of my translation of it in the Buddhist Suttas, it is said of the Buddha himself, that he 'had no such thing as the closed first of the teacher who kept some things back.' This passage is itself quoted above at iv, 2, 4, as the basis of one of Milinda's questions, and is entirely accepted by Nagasena, that is by our author. The fact is that there has never been any such thing as esoteric teaching in Buddhism, and that the modern so-called esoteric Buddhism is neither esoteric nor Buddhism. Its tenets, so far as they are Indian at all, are perfectly accessible, are well known to those who choose to study the books of Indian mysticism, and are Hindu, not Buddhist. They are indeed quite contradictory to Buddhism, of which the authors of what they ignorantly call Esoteric Buddhism know but very little, that little being only a portion of those beliefs which have been common ground to all religious teachers in India. If one doctrine—more than any other is distinctive of Buddhism, it is the ignoring in ethics of the time-honoured belief in a soul, that is, in the old sense, in a separate creature inside the body, which flies out of it, like a bird out of a cage, when the body dies. Yet the theosophists who believe, I am told, in seven souls inside each human body, which would be worse according to true Buddhism than seven devils, still venture to call themselves Buddhists, and do not see the absurdity of their position." p. 268.

There is a *fourth* literature to which as an Indian Missionary labouring among Hindus I may be allowed to refer as going to prove that Buddhism had never secured the *full* conquest, of even that province of India where it was strongest, not to speak of *all* India.

The Hindu idea of the origin of Buddhism is given in the 16th Chapter of the *Agni Purana* by no less an authority than Agni, the Vedic god of fire, to the highly venerated Muni or Rishi, Vasishtha, under the heading of the *Buddha* and *Kalki* incarnations. The one is given as a history, and the other as a prophecy. With regard to the former Agni says:—"I shall now describe to you the *Buddha* incarnation, the hearing or reading of which is calculated to ensure good fortune. At a battle fought in ancient times between the Devas (gods) and the Asuras (demons) the former were overcome by the latter. Thereupon the Devas

sought the shelter of Iswara (the Supreme God) saying—'O, save us, save us.' He, Iswara, took birth as the son of Suddhodana, and as an embodiment of illusion and deception. He deluded the Daityas (Titans, demons or giants) and made them abjure the religion of the Vedas. They were born as Buddhas, and in their turn they made others reject the religion of the Vedas. He (Iswara) afterwards become an Arhata or Jaina and converted others into the religion of Arhat. Thus were produced heretics, devoid of the religion of the Vedas, addicted to vice, and committing acts which rendered them fit to be consigned to hell," "Here," remarks Dr. Mitra, the "Buddha incarnation is avowed to be the same with the son of Suddhodana, the father of Gautama, and the religion of Arhat or Jaina (Jainism) is described to be of a later date than Buddhism."\*

In this short authoritative account of the origin of Buddhism by Hinduism, we have a most extraordinary and to say the least not a very creditable account given of the great Hindu god, Iswara, Siva or Vishnu. He is described as an "embodiment of illusion and deception," become so with the declared intention and determination of leading accountable intelligences into error and thus to destruction.

The account of Buddhism given in the *Gaya Mahatmya* section of the *Vayā Purana* affords, according to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, a striking illustration of the manner in which Buddhism passed into Hinduism.

The story runs thus :—The great father of the universe, Brahma, born in the lotus-navel of Vishnu, created all living beings by order of Vishnu. From his fierce nature that Lord brought forth the Asuras, and from his humane disposition he produced the noble-minded Devas. Among the Asuras, Gaya i.e. Buddhism, was endowed with great strength and vigour. In height he measured 125 yojanas (upwards of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles each), and in girth 60 yojanas. He was distinguished as a devout Vaishnava. With his breath held back, he practised the most rigorous austerities for many thousand years on the noble hill of Kolahala or Brahmayoni at Gaya. The Devas were oppressed by his austerities, and dreaded serious misfortune. They repaired to the region of Brahma, and there prayed to the first Father of Creation ;—'Pray protect us from the demon Gaya.' Brahma said—'Let us proceed to Sankara, Siva, for help.' Preceded by

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\* Dr. E. L. Mitra's Introduction to the *Agni Purana*, Vol. iii, p. x.

Brahma, they all went to Siva, on the Kailasa Mountain, and saluting him, said :—‘ O Lord, protect us from the great demon.’ Sambhu (Brahma) said :—‘ Let us seek the help of Hari, the great god, sleeping on the milky ocean ; he will devise some means of relief for us.’ Brahma, Mahesvara, and the Devas, satisfied Vishnu by the following hymn :—‘ Our salutation to Vishnu, to the lord of all, the creator of all, and the sustainer of all ; salutation to the destroyer of all and the extinguisher of all, to the sustainer and the supporter, to the destroyer of Rakshasas and other evil spirits ; to him who promotes the prosperity of the creation and is the redeemer of Yogis.’ Thus praised, Vishnu became manifest to the Devas, and inquired—‘ Why have you all come here?’ They prayed—‘ Save us, O Lord, from the demon Gaya.’ Hari said :—‘ Do you, Brahma and others, proceed to the Asura, and I shall follow you.’ Kesava (Bengali Keshob) mounted on his Garuda, the sacred goose, and the others, each on his exquisite vehicle, repaired to bless the demon. They addressed the demon, saying :—‘ Why are you continuing your austerities ? Well satisfied with your devotion, we are come to grant you any favour that you may desire. Say, Gay-asura, what do you wish.’ Gay-asura said :—‘ If you are really satisfied with me, render my body purer even than that of Brahma, Vishnu, or Mahesvara—purer than all sacrifices and sacred pools and high mountains—purer even than the purest of gods.’ ‘ Even so be it,’ responded the gods, and repaired to heaven. [The result of this blessing was that] mortals who beheld or touched the demon at once ascended to the region of Brahma. The thirty-three regions [of the universe] became empty, and the domains of Yama [i. e. hell] were deprived of their inhabitants. Thus deprived of their subjects by Gay-asura, Yama along with Indra and the other gods repaired to Brahma and addressed him, saying :—‘ O Father of Creation, take back the offices that you have bestowed on us [for we can no longer hold them].’ Brahma replied :—‘ Let us repair to Vishnu, the undecaying.’ To Vishnu they thus addressed :—

‘ Lord, by the sight of the demon whom you have blessed all mortals are being translated to heaven, and the three regions have become empty.’ Vishnu, thus implored by the gods, said to them :— Do you go and ask the demon to give you his body, so that you may perform a sacrifice (yagna) thereon ; and you will be able to overcome your



difficulties.' The gods accordingly went to Gaya, the demon, who beholding before him Brahma with his companions (lit. 'three-times-ten,' meaning all the other gods), rose from his seat, saluted them with reverence, and, having welcomed them in due form, said :— 'Blessed is my life this day ; blessed is my penance: verily I have attained all my objects, since Brahma has become my guest. Say wherefore are you come, and I shall at once execute the task for you.' Brahma said :— 'Of all the sacred pools that have been seen by me in my rambles, there is none, for sacrificial purposes, purer than thy body, which has attained its purity through the blessing of Vishnu. Do you, therefore, O Asura, present me thy holy body for the performance of a sacrifice.' Gaya, the demon, said :— 'Blessed am I, O god of gods, since thou askest me for my body : my paternal ancestors will be sanctified shouldst thou perform a sacrifice on my body. By thee was this body created, and well it is that it should be of use to thee : it will then be truly of use to all.' Having said this, Gaya, the demon, leaning towards the south-west, fell prostrate on the ground on the Kolahala hill (Bramhayoni Hill); his head lay on the north side, and his feet extended towards the south. Brahma then collected the necessary articles for the sacrifice, and, having created from his mind the officiating (Ritvijas),\* duly performed a sacrifice on the body of the demon. Having bathed and offered the concluding *avabhriti* oblation to the fire, he gave adequate fees to the priests. On the completion of the sacrifice, he with his divine companions were, however, surprised to find that the demon was still moving on the sacrificial ground. He thereupon said to Yama :— 'Do you go and quickly fetch from your house the stone of religion [Dharmasila] that is lying there, and place it on the head of the demon by my order.' Yama, hearing this, immediately placed the stone on the demon's head to keep it immovable; but even after the stone was so placed the demon moved along with the stone. Then Brahma ordered Rudra and the other gods to sit upon the stone to keep it fixed; and they did as they were directed. But even after being pressed down with the feet of the gods, the demon still moved. Greatly distressed, Brahma then ran to Vishnu asleep on the ocean of milk, and, saluting that Lord of the three regions, thus addressed him :— 'O Lord,

\* The ancestors of all the present Brahman priests or Gayawals of Gaya.

great master of the universe, and ruler of creation, thou master of virtuous beings and giver of blessings and salvation, I salute thee.' Vishvaksena said to Vishnu:— 'Lord, the lotus-born (Brahma) is saluting you,' Vishnu said:— 'Go and bring him here.' Vishvaksena did as he was ordered: Vishnu said to Brahma 'Say, wherefore are you come?' Brahma replied:—'Lord of lords, on the completion of the sacrifice Gay-asura began to move, and thereupon we placed the sacred stone, Dharmasila, on his head, and Rudra and the other gods sat upon it, but still the demon moves. Now help us, O destroyer of Madhu, to make him immovable.' On hearing the words of Brahma the Lord Hari drew forth from his person a fierce form, and gave it to Brahma in order to help him to make the demon motionless. Bringing that form, Brahma placed it on the stone, but it nevertheless moved; so he again sought the aid of Vishnu. Vishnu thereupon came from the milky ocean, and under the form of the wielder of the Gadadhara (i.e. Vishnu) sat upon the stone to prevent its moving. Moreover he, in the five forms of the great-grand father or the first, the grand-father, the Lord of Phalgu, Kedara, and Kanakesvara, rested thereon. Brahma too sat there; so did the elephantine Vinayaka (Ganesa). The sun, in his threefold form of the sun of Gaya, the northern sun, and the southern sun; Lakshmi under the name of Sita, Gouri under the name of Mangala, Gayatri, Savitri, Trisandhya, and Sarasvati, likewise sat there. And since before sitting down, by plying his mace, Hari rendered the demon motionless, he is, therefore, called the first or sovereign wielder of the mace (Adigadadhara). Gay-asura said to the gods:—'Why should you, after I have given my sinless body to Brahma, treat me thus? Would I not have become motionless at the request of Hari? Why then should he thus torture me with his mace, and the gods should join him? And now since you will have so cruelly treated me, do you show your mercy to me?' The gods were delighted and said:—'We are fully satisfied with you. Do you ask a blessing from us.' Gaya prayed:—'As long as the earth and the mountains, as long as the moon and the stars shall last, so long may you, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesvara, rest on this stone. May you, the Devas, rest on it too, and call this place after me the sacred Kshetra of Gaya, extending over five *krosa*, of which one *krosa* would be covered by my head. Therein should abide, for the good of man-

kind, all the sacred pools on earth, where persons, by bathing and offering of oblations of water and funeral cakes, may attain high merit for themselves, and translate their ancestors, blessed with all that is desirable and salvation, to the region of Brahma. As long as Vishnu in his triple form shall be adorned by the learned, so long should this be renowned on earth as the sacred place of Gayasura, and resort to it should rinse men of even the sin of killing Brahmins.' Hearing this prayer of Gaya, the Devas, headed by Vishnu, replied :—'Whatever thou prayest, that shall for certain be accomplished. By offering the *pinda* and performing *śrad-dha* here, persons will translate their ancestors for a hundred generations, as also their own selves, to the heaven of Brahma, where exists no disease. By worshipping our feet, they will attain the highest reward in after life.'"

Such is the story as given in *Vayu Purāna*.

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, its Hindu translator, remarks :— "The Hindus believe this story to be literally true, but Dr. Buchanan Hamilton calls it 'a monstrous legend,' and well he may. At first sight nothing can appear more absurd and stupid [and wicked] than this story. It offends every sense of propriety, and has not even the merit of ingenuity in its narration. The Brahmayoni Hill, which is the same with the Kolahala mountain, is scarcely three miles in length, and the idea of locating on it a being 125 yojanas or 576 miles in height, and 268 miles in girth, would never strike the poorest fabler. A head a mile in circumference on a body 576 miles high would bear to each other about the same relation which a pin's head does to the ordinary human body. The helplessness of the gods to keep down a prostrate monster, and their futile attempts to prevent his moving are as childish as possible. And such being the case, the question suggests itself,—How is it that the author of the *Vayu Purāna*, of which the *Gaya Māhātmya* professes to be a part, invented so puerile a story for ensuring the respect and devotion of the people at large to this place? He was not wanting in intelligence, for he discusses many abstruse questions of philosophy with considerable tact and ingenuity; he possessed, too, sufficient insight into human character to know what would command ready credence and what would be rejected at first sight as worthless. It would be illogical and untrue to say that he could not distinguish the story as reasonable from the puerile and absurd. To reject the story, therefore, as absurd would in

my mind appear hasty, and indicative of idle impatience. It would much more become the philosophic historian to assume that something esoteric is hidden under the garb of an extravagant fable, and that esoteric meaning, I believe, is easily found, if the legend be taken as an allegory of the success of Brahmanism over Buddhism. Gaya is called an *Asura* which ordinarily means a Titan, a demon, a vicious monster, a reviler of gods and religion; but he has not been here portrayed as such. He revels not in crime, he injures none, and offends neither the gods nor religion by word or deed (*sic!*) The most serious charge brought against him was that he made salvation too simple and summary. The epithet (*Asura*) in his case can, therefore, only mean that he did not profess the faith of the Brahmins, nor follow their ways: In short, he was a heretic. This character has always been assigned to the chiefs among the Buddhists. They did away with sacrifices and ceremonies of the Brahmins; and Gaya therefore may safely be taken to be a personification of Buddhism. His body measured 576 by 268 miles; and the country from Kalinga to the Himalaya, and from Central India to Bengal—the area over which Buddhism had spread at the time when the legend was written,—covered fully that space, and a great deal more. The head-quarters of Buddhism were then at *Gaya*; and the town of *Gaya* is even now barely a mile in extent. The attempt of the gods to put down the head of the monster typifies the attempts of the Hindus to assail Buddhism at its inspiring centre, the head quarters; and the thwack of Vishnu's mace indicates the resort which had been made to force, when religious preaching had failed to attain the end. The rock of religion was placed on the head of the infidel, and the force of the gods kept it fixed and immovable. It was the blessing of the gods, too, which sanctified the seat of Buddhism into a principal sanctuary of the Hindu faith, and arrested its progress."

The following lines, part of a speech by the Hindu god Rama, in praise of truth, will be found in Canto six of Book ii in some of the editions of the *Ramayana*. It helps us to understand the view taken of Buddhism by popular Hinduism:—

" We rank the Buddhist with the thief,  
And all the impious crew  
Who share his sinful disbelief,  
And hate the right and true.

Hence never should wise kings who seek  
 To rule their people well,  
 Admit, before their face to speak,  
 The cursed infidel. \* \* \* \* \*

To this and much more Javali answers :—

“ The atheist’s lore I use no more,  
 Not mine his impious creed.  
 His words and doctrines I abhor,  
 Assumed at time of need.  
 Even as I rose to speak to thee,  
 The fit occasion came  
 That bade me use the atheist’s plea  
 To turn thee from thine aim,  
 The atheist creed I disavow,  
 Unsay the words of sin,  
 And use the faithful’s language now  
 Thy favour, Prince, to win.”—*Griffith.*

I have devoted so much space to the relation of ancient Hindu literature to Buddhism, because not only of its own intrinsic interest, but also as explanatory of the permanent and undoubted influence of Buddhism on Hinduism and of the manner in which Buddhism as a distinct religion so thoroughly disappeared from India by persecution and compromises as seen at Puri, Gaya and Benares; much better than in the Inscriptions of Asoka. But there is no explanation of any kind to be given of the disappearance of Buddhism from Western Asia and Egypt, and the non-existence of Buddhist monuments and inscriptions there, except the very simple one that Buddhism never was there. In Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan and Thibet, it remained. Its arrival in each of these places is a fact of history and of its stay in each of them colossal monuments testify. Of its arrival in Syria and Egypt, history is silent. It knows nothing of its ever having been there. It has left no trace on rock, pillar or stone, or in any of its literary remains, as [ we shall now proceed to show. We therefore unhesitatingly conclude that it never was there.

Let us therefore open the literature of Syria during the period under consideration as embodied in the four contemporary lives of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, the

Epistles of Paul, James, John, Jude and Peter, and the voluminous history of Josephus; and see if we can find any trace of Buddhistic influence in any of these. Most of them, including Josephus, we can dispose of by the remark that no one has ever discovered a trace in them. But it is said that in some, certain traces have been discovered. Let us look at these.

In Matthew vii. 15, Jesus tells his disciples to beware of false prophets who come in sheep's clothing, but are inwardly ravening wolves. This has a distant resemblance to the words of Buddha in Dhammapada 307, "Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil doers by their evil deeds go to hell."

To the teaching of Jesus in Matthew vi. 31,—“Be not therefore anxious saying What shall we eat &c.,” we find some likeness, though not very close, to Buddha's words in the *Sariputta-Sutta* (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. x. p. 182.) in which he counsels his follower “not to raise doubts in his mind asking himself—What shall I eat, or where shall I eat? Where shall I lie this night? Let the monk who wanders about houseless subdue these lamentable doubts.”

Here is a story from the *Mahavagga* viii. 26, which is very creditable to Buddha's heart and which bears a resemblance to that of Jesus washing the disciples' feet and to the sentence in Mat. xxv. 36, 40.—“I was sick and ye visited me...Inasmuch as ye did it to one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me.” Before telling the story it must be premised that it refers to a monastery in which were living a large number of men, no women, all intent, each for himself, on doing deeds which would be of service to themselves severally in securing Nirvana.

Now at that time a certain monk had an attack of choleraic diarrhoea and he lay fallen in his own evacuations. Buddha on going round the sleeping places accompanied by his personal assistant, the beloved Ananda, came to that monk's place and saw him so fallen lying. He went up to him and asked him—“What is the matter with you, O monk?”

“I have a disturbance, Lord, in my bowels.”

“Then have you any one to wait upon you?” “No, Lord.”

“Why do not the other monks wait upon you?”

“Because I am of no service, Lord, to the monks.”

Then Buddha said to the venerable Ananda—"Go, Ananda, and fetch some water. Let us bathe this monk."

"Even so, Lord," said Ananda, and fetched the water. And Buddha poured the water over that monk, and Ananda wiped him down. And the Buddha taking hold of him at the head and Ananda at the feet, they lifted him up, and laid him down upon his bed.

Then Buddha on that occasion and in that connection, convened a meeting of the Order and asked the monks—"Is there in such and such an apartment a monk who is sick?" They answered "There is Lord."

"And is there any one to wait upon him?" They said—"No, Lord."

"Why then do not the monks wait upon him?"

"That monk, Lord, is of no service to the other monks.

Therefore do they not wait upon him."

"Ye, O monks, have no mothers and no fathers who might wait upon you. If ye, O monks, wait not one upon the other, who is there indeed who will wait upon you? Whosoever, O monks, would wait upon me, he should wait upon the sick."

We would fain believe that any ordinary Christian would be found equal to such a crisis; but we can easily see that in India with its castes and its ideas of defilement, Buddha would be regarded as having done something very extraordinary in doing what he is said to have done. The resemblance to the Christian incident in the Gospel is very far-fetched.

I do not quote from the *Saddharma-Pundarika*, *The Questions of Milinda*, *Abhinish-kramana Sutra*, the *Lalita Vistara*, or *Wisudhi-Murgga-sanne*, as there is every reason to believe that they were written in whole or in part long after the advent of Christ, and not one of them is included in the Buddhist canon. They are consequently of no use for our purpose, being of no authority as to the primitive teaching of Buddhism, and its supposed influence on early Christianity.

Mr. R. C. Dutt gives the following parallels with the Bible:—1. "Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly." *Dhammapada* 51, which he compares with Matthew xxiii. 3. I consider the comparison far-fetched.

2. Our Saviour was charged with working on the Sabbath day. He answered his accusers:—"My Father worketh even until now and I work." John v. 17.

Buddha went about begging from house to house doing nothing. At the busy season of harvest he begged at meal time, from a farmer who charged him with idleness. Buddha answered him.—"I also both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown I eat. Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and good." The farmer was so pleased with Buddha's words, which were recited as a hymn, that he offered the singer a lordly dish for his hire. On which Buddha answered—"What is secured by reciting stanzas is not to be eaten by me. Buddha rejects what is acquired by reciting stanzas. One (meaning himself) who is an accomplished great Isi, whose passions (desires) are destroyed and whose misbehaviour has ceased, thou shouldst serve with other food and drink, for this is the field for one who looks for good works." "To whom", enquired the farmer, "O Gotama, shall I then give this rice milk?" Buddha answered:—"I do not see in the world of men and gods, and devils, and Brahmins, amongst beings comprising gods and men, and monks, and Brahmins, any by whom this rice milk when eaten can be properly digested with the exception of Buddha (i. e. himself) or a disciple of Buddha. Therefore thou shalt throw this milk in a place where is little grass, or cast it into water in which there are no living creatures." This being done the water hissed, smoked as if hot iron had been plunged into it.

This was intended as a miracle from the effects of which living grass and live creatures were preserved. The farmer was so struck by what he had seen and heard that he became a Buddhist. We fail however to see here any likeness whatever to the incident in the Gospel or to the words of Jesus—"I work until now, even as the Father worked."

3. Another of Mr. Dutt's parallels is this:—

"After a man has once understood the law as taught by Buddha let him worship it carefully as the Brahmin worships the sacrificial fire. A man does not become a Brahmin by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmin. What is the use of platted hair O fool, what of the raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean." *Dhammapada*, 392—3.

Mr. Dutt asks us to compare this with Matthew xxiii. 27, and Luke xi. 39, where we read that Jesus addressed the Scribes and Pharisees in the scathing words:—"Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear



beautiful, but inwardly are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." "Now do ye, Pharisees, cleanse the outside of the cup and of the platter; but your inward part is full of extortion and wickedness." We are not much impressed here with the parallelism. We see nothing very remarkable in it, nothing to suggest borrowing. The thought is natural, as also the expression.

4. We take up yet another of Mr. Dutt's comparisons. This time it is from what is called the *Dhaniya-Sutta*, a dialogue between a well-to-do herdsman, Dhaniya by name, and Buddha, both of them rejoicing in their security against the rain. Each of them in turn dwells with complaisance on what he himself possesses as security against misery. This security is thus expressed. "Therefore, if you like, rain on, O sky." The herdsman dwelt with satisfaction on the facts that he had a good wife, cows, sons, calves, a grand bull, and that his house was strongly built and safe. Buddha rejoiced still more that he had no wife, no sons, no house, or substance. "Therefore, if you like, rain on, O sky." The rain did come filling both sea and land, with the result that the herdsman lost his all, and he and his wife became Buddhists, conquering birth and death, and thus putting an end to all pain. The story ends with the words of Buddha—"He who has sons has care with his sons, he who has cows has likewise care with his cows, for substance is the cause of people's cares, but he who has no substance has no care."

We are asked to compare this interesting dialogue between Buddha and the herdsman with the parable of the rich man who addressed his soul—"Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, be marry." But God said to him—"Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee; and the things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be? So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich towards God." That is just what Buddha professed to do and to be. He professed all his life to lay up treasure for himself and for himself alone, and to ignore God altogether. We fail to see much of a similarity between the Buddhistic dialogue and the Christian parable; but we do see some likeness between Buddha's boasting and that of Burns' Jolly Beggars, or to King James' Gaberlunzie man.

5 In chapter 5, of the *Dhamma*, sec. 62, the fool is represented as saying—"These sons belong to me and this wealth belongs to me": and Buddha remarks—"He himself does not belong to himself, how much less sons and wealth?" a mere parallelism with our Lord's words to the rich man with the full granaries, Luke xii, 12, 20.

6. It is a comfort to find among Mr. Dutt's parallels one that has some real resemblance to a saying of Jesus. This we have in Buddha's teaching about punishment. He tells us that inasmuch as all men tremble at punishment, fear death, and love life; therefore we are not to kill or cause slaughter. This may be regarded as a concrete illustration or example of the general principle laid down by Jesus when He said Luke vi. 31. "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." Still we could not speak of it as "a remarkable coincidence with that preached five hundred years after in Palestine by Jesus Christ", as Mr. Dutt calls it. The prohibition to kill is among the oldest we have in the Bible, and Jesus' generalisation had no special reference to killing.

7. In the same way we see no remarkable coincidence in the words of Buddha, *Dhammapada* 252.—"The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive: a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler"; and the words of Jesus about the mote and the beam. Matthew vii, 3. These are Mr. Dutt's coincidences.

8. But others are given than those given by Mr. Dutt. We try to refer to all. In Matthew xxvi, 41, Jesus asks us to "watch and pray that we enter not into temptation for tho' the spirit is indeed willing the flesh is weak." Buddha speaks---"If a man has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful. Knowing that this body is fragile like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack the tempter with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest." *Dhamma*, 40.

9. In *Dhamma*, 84-86, Buddha speaks—"If whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous. Few there are among men who arrive at Nirvaana; the other people here run up and

down the shore (and never arrive). But those who when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome." Compare the narrow way of Jesus and the few that find it. Mat. vii, 14. As also *Dhamma*. 164.—“Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.” *Dhamma*. 159 is supposed to be like Mat. vi, 39-40. We cannot see it.

10. Our Saviour taught in Luke vi, 27,—“Love your enemies.” This is supposed to parallel with Buddha’s—“Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us; among men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred”, and, Buddha would add, free from love also; for he adds a few verses below—“From love comes grief, from love comes fear; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear”. 215.

11. The same words of our Saviour are supposed to parallel with those of Buddha in the *Metta-Sutta* of the *Sutta-Nipata* :—“Let the Buddhist cultivate goodwill towards all the world, a boundless (friendly) mind, above and below, and across, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity.” Here also Buddha would add “Without love, free from all passion or desire.” Buddha commands that “no one attack an Arhat; but no Arhat if attacked should let himself fly at his aggressor.” This is compared with our Saviour’s words “Resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also,” Mat. v, 39.

12. Mr. R. C. Dutt writes :—“The birth of Gautama is naturally the subject of many legends which have a most remarkable resemblance with the legends about the birth of Jesus Christ. One of them may be quoted here—“The Rishi Asita,” &c. Dr. John Muir in regard to the same legend says : “The similarity of some of the incidents to portions of the narrative in the second chapter of Luke’s Gospel verses 25 ff., will strike the reader.” As this is admittedly the nearest parallel discovered in the new Testament to any thing found in the old Buddhistic books, I shall quote both in full. Luke writes :—

Behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death, before he

had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came in the Spirit into the temple : and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might do concerning him after the custom of the law, then he received him unto his arms, and blessed God, and said :—

“ Now lettest thou thy servant depart, O Lord,  
According to thy word, in peace ;  
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,  
Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples ;  
Light for revelation to the Gentiles,  
And the glory of thy people Israel.”

And his father and his mother were marvelling at the things which were spoken concerning him ; and Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this *child* is set for the falling and rising up of many in Israel ; and for a sign which is spoken against, yea and a sword shall pierce through thine own soul ; that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed.

That is all we know of this incident in the life of Jesus. With it compare and contrast this following from the *Nalaka Sutta* in the *Mahavagga* (*Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. x.) to which Mr. Dutta expressly refers his readers. The scene opens in heaven.—

The Isi Asita saw in their resting places during the day the joyful delighted flocks of the Tidasas gods, and the gods in bright clothes always highly praising Indra, after taking their clothes and waving them. Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted and showing his respect he said this on that occasion : ‘ Why is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them ? When there was an encounter with the Asuras, a victory for the gods, and the Asuras were defeated, then there was not such a rejoicing. What wonderful thing have the gods seen that they are so delighted ? They shout and sing and make music, they throw about their arms and dance. I ask you, the inhabitants of the tops of mount Meru, remove my doubt quickly, O venerable ones.’ The Bodhisatta (i. e. he who was to become Buddha) the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas, in the country of Lumbini, ‘ Therefore we are glad and exceedingly pleased. He, the most excellent of all beings the pre-eminent man, the bulwark of men, the most excellent of all creatures will turn the wheel of the *Dhamma* (i. e. the Religion) in the forest called after the Isis, he who is like the roaring lion, the strong lord of beasts’. Having heard that noise he descended from the heaven of Tusita. Then he went to Siddhodana's palace, and having sat down there he said this to the Sakyas : ‘ Where is the prince ? I wish to see him. Then the Sakyas showed to the Isi called Asita, the child, the prince who was like shining gold, manufactured like a very skilful smith in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and having a beautiful appearance. Seeing the prince shining like fire, bright like the bull of stars wandering in the sky, like the burning sun in autumn, free from clouds, he joyfully

obtained great delight. The gods held in the sky a parasol with a thousand circles and numerous branches, yaks' tails with golden sticks were fanned, but those who held the yaks' tails and the parasol were not seen. The Isi with the matted hair, by name Kanhasiri, on seeing the yellow blanket shining like a golden coin and the white parasol held over his head, received him delighted and happy. And having received the bull of the Sakyas, he who was wishing to receive him and knew the signs and the hymns, with pleased thoughts raised his voice saying, 'Without superior is this, the most excellent of men' Then remembering his own migration, he was displeased and shed fears; seeing this the Sakyas asked the weeping Isi, whether there would be any obstacle in the Prince's path. Seeing the Sakyas displeased the Isi said 'I do not remember any thing that will be unlucky for the prince, there will be no obstacles at all for him, for this is no inferior person. Be without anxiety. This prince will reach the summit of perfect enlightenment, he will turn the wheel of the *Dhamma*, he who sees what is exceedingly pure i. e. Nirvana, this prince feels for the welfare of the multitude, and religion will be widely spread. My life there will shortly be at an end in the middle of his life there will be death for me, I shall not hear the *Dhamma* of the incomparable one; therefore I am afflicted, unfortunate, and suffering.' Having afforded the Sakyas great joy he went out from the interior of the town to lead a religious life; but taking pity on his sister's son, he induced him to embrace the *Dhamma* of the incomparable one. 'When thou hearest from others the sound of Buddha, or he who has acquired perfect enlightenment walks the way of *Dhamma*, then going there and enquiring about the particulars, lead a religious life with that Bhagavat.' Instructed by him, the friendly-minded, by one who saw in the future what is exceedingly pure (i. e. Nirvana) he Nalaka, with a heap of gathered up good works, and with guarded senses dwelt with him, looking forward to Gma (i. e. Buddha). Hearing the noise, while the excellent Gma turned the wheel of the *Dhamma*, and going and seeing the bull of the Isis, he, after being converted, asked the eminent Muni about the best wisdom, when the time of Asita's order had come.

Such is the story as said to have been told by Buddha himself. We fail to see such a resemblance in it to Luke's as would lead us to conclude that the one was indebted to the other; but if there be any obligation, then on the faith of a well recognised canon of criticism, it must be the expanded that is the debtor.

13. The whole of the *Anagandha-Sutta* is interesting as drawing distinctions between Buddhism and Brahmanism on questions of morality and the nature of sin or defilement. The name of the Sutta is the Sanskrit word for defilment or sin. Buddha defines sin subjectively, as *desire* in all its forms, especially desire for individual existence, and, objectively, in embodiment or matter; and the human body is looked upon as a disgusting contemptible thing. It is also interesting from our point of view, because it is very frequently referred

to as being a striking parallel with the teaching of Jesus in Mat. xv, concerning defilement. The parallelism is, however, only on the surface. It ought also to be remembered that while Buddhists and Brahmans were agreed that to take away life was a great sin, they differed in regard to fish which the Brahmans scarcely treated as living creatures, and the bloody sacrifices to the gods, the killing of which they regarded as a duty. Then as to the eating of flesh, the former ate anything and held that there was no sin in eating flesh, even pork; the Brahman, being a vegetarian, held that, while fish and goat flesh sacrificed might be eaten, there was great sin in eating any other flesh. He was a great stickler as to flesh and other meats, while the Buddhist was not. The great point with the Buddhist, on the other hand, was the conquest of *all desire*, all ties to father, mother, wife or child, or even existence, and to eat and drink without any desire for it or pleasure in it. He was opposed to tonsure, fasting, penance, dirt, nakedness, for all of which these Brahmans went in as conducive to salvation. Buddha did not believe in any of these. He believed in a calm quiet, in receiving alms and eating what he got, and in meditating on the sufferings of the world and the way to get rid of all suffering. He loved not, he hated not; he sought no pleasure, he sought no pain as the Brahman did. All this contrast comes out in the *Amagandha Sutta* or Sermon on Defilement, which as being short we give in full, substituting the word *Buddha* for its synonyms, and 'defilement' for *Amagandha* :—

A Brahman speaks,—Those who eat different sorts of grass, leaves, roots, &c., (naming them severally), justly obtained of the just, do not speak falsehood, nor are they desirous of sensual pleasures. He who eats what has been well preserved, well dressed, what is pure and excellent, given by others, he who enjoys food made of rice, eats defilement. 'The charge of defilement does not apply to me,' so thou sayest, 'O Brahman, although enjoying food made of rice together with the well prepared flesh of birds.' I ask thee, O Buddha, the meaning of this, of what description is then thy defilement?

Buddha speaks :—Destroying living beings, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, speaking falsehood, fraud and deception, worthless reading, intercourse with another's wife; this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Those persons who in this world are unrestrained in enjoying sensual plea-

tures, greedy of sweet things, associated with what is impure, sceptics, unjust, difficult to follow; this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Those who are rough, harsh, back-biting, treacherous, merciless, arrogant, and who being illiberal do not give anything to any one; this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Anger, intoxication, obstinacy, bigotry, envy, grandiloquence, pride, and conceit, intimacy with the unjust, this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Those who in this world are wicked, and such as do not pay their debts, are slanderers, false in their dealings, counterfeiters, those who in this world being the lowest of men commit sin; this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Those persons who in this world are unrestrained in their behaviour towards living creatures, who are bent upon injuring after taking others' goods, wicked, cruel, harsh, disrespectful; this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Those creatures who are greedy of living beings, who are hostile, offending, always bent upon evil, and therefore, when dead, go to darkness and fall with their heads downwards into hell; this is defilement, but not the eating of flesh. Neither the flesh of fish, nor fasting, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough skins, nor the worshipping of the fire, nor the many immortal penances in the world, nor (Vedic) hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifice, nor observance of the seasons, purify a mortal who has not conquered his doubt (i. e. his desires). The wise man wanders about with his organs of sense guarded, and his senses conquered, standing firm in the *Dhamma*, delighting in what is right and mild; having overcome all ties and left behind all pain, he does not cling to what is seen and heard.

Thus Buddha preached this subject again and again and the Brahman who was accomplished in the hymns of the Vedas understood it; the Buddha who is free from defilement, independent, and difficult to follow made it clear in various stanzas. Having heard Buddha's well spoken words which are free from defilement, and send away all pain, he worshipped Buddha's feet in humility, and took orders at once, [i. e. became a Buddhist]. Thus ends the *Amagandha-Sutta*.

14. Mr. Dutt notices that M. Renan, who was notorious for his efforts to bring orthodox Christianity into disrepute, is compelled to admit that he can find no Buddhist influence in the New Testament. Mr. Dutt thinks, however, that by M. Renan's help he can make something

of the supposed similarity of the parables of Christ to those of Buddha. He lays his foundation in the state me "that there was nothing in Judaism which could have furnished Jesus with a model for the parable style", while on the other hand "we find in the Buddhist books parables of exactly the same tone and the same character as the gospel parables". Mr. Dutt was no doubt oblivious, and possibly also M. Renan, of the existence of such Jewish parables in the Old Testament as those of the trees anointing a King (Judges ix. 8-20), the ewe lamb of 2 Samuel xii. 1-14, the widow, one of whose two sons slew the other (2 Sam. xiv. 4-20), the soldier who let his captive escape (1 Kings xx. 35-42), the thistle which asked the cedar's daughter for a wife (2 Kings xiv. 9-11), the vineyard of Isaiah v. 1-7, the two eagles and the Vine, the Lion's whelps and the boiling pot, all of Ezekiel (xvii. 1-10, xix. 1-9, xxiv. 1-14), all of which go to show that the Jews were quite accustomed to the parabolic form of teaching long before Buddha was born.

15. Mr. R. C. Dutt begins his chapter on Buddhism and Christianity in his *Ancient India* with the words—"The moral precepts and teachings of Buddhism have so much in common with those of Christianity, that some connection between the two systems of religion has long been suspected."

Mr. Rhys Davids, we suppose the highest living authority on Buddhism, on the other hand, unhesitatingly states in his Hibbert Lectures of 1881, that the views set forth in the *Pali Pitakas*, that is the Buddhist authoritative Scriptures, are "fundamentally opposed to those set forth in the New Testament". We are much tempted to leave the matter there. Prof. Rhys Davids has given evidence to the world sufficient to satisfy all that he knows both Buddhism and Christianity. We have as yet to learn that Mr. Dutta knows either. Instead of, however, leaving the matter here, we would rather say—let us to the Law and the Prophets.

The moral precepts of Christianity are those of the *ten words* of Moses, published many hundreds of years before Buddha was born. So that if there has been any borrowing it must have been by Buddha. But we fail to see any. it is true that both are spoken of as *ten*. The Christian *ten* are:—

- 1 Thou shalt worship only one God.
- 2 Thou shalt worship no graven image.
- 3 Thou shalt not use God's name in vain.
- 4 Thou shalt keep the seventh day holy.
- 5 Honour thy father and thy mother.



- 6 Thou shalt do no murder.
- 7 Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- 8 Thou shalt not steal.
- 9 Thou shalt not swear falsely
- 10 Thou shalt not covet.

These are practically the prohibition of *ten sins*. Buddha's *ten sins* are :—(1) Taking any lower animal's life as well or indeed much more than man's ; (2) Theft—taking any thing not given ; (3) All sexual intercourse ; (4) Telling lies ; (5) Slander, including saying here what one hears there ; (6) Abuse, including swearing ; (7) Vain conversation ; (8) Covetousness ; (9) Malice ; and (10) Scepticism—referring especially to the denial, not of God, but of every thing,—this world and the next, Buddha and his law, *Karma* or the law of re-incarnation, as the effect of good deeds unrewarded or bad deeds unpunished.

The very little that is common between these two sets of sins is what is more or less common all over the world at all times of its history. It indicates no historical connection of any kind between the two.

The moral *precepts* of Buddha as distinguished from his sins are, however, more generally spoken of thus :

- (1) Do not destroy life.
- (2) Take not that which is not given.
- (3) Do not tell lies.
- (4) Drink no intoxicating liquors.
- (5) Indulge in no sexual intercourse.
- (6) Eat no unseasonable food at night.
- (7) Wear no garlands, use no perfume.
- (8) Sleep on a mat on the ground.
- (9) Use no high or broad bed.
- (10) Receive no gold or silver.

We fail to see here any resemblance to the ten words of the Christian moral law, but we do observe that the whole *four* constituting the first table of the Christian law are completely missing in Buddha's teaching. He taught nothing of God, of our duty towards Him or of a Sabbath. He ridicules the very existence of any Almighty Creator.

Then what greater contrast could there possibly be than in the teaching of Buddha and Christ on the relation of the sexes. The former held that every man should divorce his wife and betake himself to a single life: while the latter taught that no man should forsake his wife except alone for adultery. The wonder is how little

there is in common between the precepts of Buddha and those of Christianity. Let the reader look over these ten precepts of Buddha and consider the little of Christians teaching which is to be found in them.

Buddha's *Self-Sacrifice* and great *Renunciation* are quite distinct, the one was in a pre-existent, *i.e.*, altogether mythical life, the other at his father's home in Kapila-vastu when he forsook his wife or wives, child, father and home.

As to the *first*, we read that he was a rich Brahman of the name of Sumadha, that he threw off "his cloak possessed of the nine faults," and donned the yellow robes of a Buddhist, and lived the homeless life of an ascetic. While in this state he saw approaching him a Buddha, and he threw himself in the mire that he might pass over his body, This act was of such great merit, that, had he wished it, it would have destroyed all his sins and he might have become Buddha himself and entered Nirvana then and there. But the question arose in His mind—"Why should I cross the ocean, resolute but alone?" Then and there he took the resolution not to act so selfishly, but "to attain omniscience, and enable men and gods to cross. By this resolution of mine," said he, "I, a man of resolution, embarking in the ship of the Truth will carry across with me men and gods." That is, in other words, instead of then and there entering Nirvana, he resolved on being re-incarnated as the son of King Sudhodana and becoming the Buddha, and making known to men and gods the way to Nirvana. This, it is said, is equal to Christ's act in becoming incarnate for men, and dying in the room and place of sinners. Unlike Christ, Buddha did not give himself to shame, or humiliation, or death. On the contrary he resolved to live one life more, in addition to the thousands or millions of lives which he had already lived, with the result that this new and additional life should be one of self-exaltation and self-deification. We fail to see here any likeness to Christ's voluntary sacrifice and humiliation. Further, we read that on the Indian prince becoming the Buddha and thus learned the way of salvation, as he believed, he after all hesitated much about allowing men or gods know of it, and thus benefit by his omniscience.

The other act, that of *Renunciation*, also spoken of as Buddha's *Great Renunciation*, is simply one of the steps necessary to the completion of the first. And as we read that he was living in mortal sin when he is introduced to us as the

Brahman Sumedha, so also was he living in gross sin, from his point of view, when he resolved on forsaking wife, and child, father and home to live as an ascetic. On this occasion he did nothing but what every ascetic for ages before his time did, and what thousands at the present day do in Hinduism and Buddhism, and what every Christian monk, and alas! what many a man does without a spark of religion or morality—forsake wife and child, house and home, and wander like a rhinoceros through the world. How different is all this from Christ's spotless life sacrifice.

It is quite true that there are other most extraordinary acts of self-sacrifices ascribed to Buddha, which he is said to have done in some of his pre-existences. As for example—at one time he lived as a wise and benevolent Hare. Seeing a hungry man approach, he gave himself to be eaten; on another occasion, also as a hare, he threw himself into the fire in order to be roasted and eaten; and yet again, he laid himself down in a cemetery, making a pillow of dead bones. But it should also be remembered there is also a *per contra*. Take for example "the ten sufferings of Buddha" as they are called. Buddha's one claim is to omniscience, and omniscience in regard to pre-existences. If any thing pleasant or painful happened he was always ready to explain it by a reference to something good or bad done in a previous existence. He was known to suffer sometimes from ten different evils—(1) his toe had been wounded with a sharp flint, (2) his foot bore the wound made by a catechu thorn, (3) he sometimes returned from a begging expedition with an empty vessel, (4) he was calumniated or falsely aspersed by a bad woman name Sundari, (5) a dwarf Bancha falsely accused him, (6) in the absence, we suppose of anything better, he ate in the Bairanta country stunted barley, (7) for six years he underwent much trouble, (8) he was afflicted with Diarrhœa, (9) he suffered headache at the destruction of the Sakya race (that to which he himself belonged), (10) he endured pain when his mind was touched with insanity. He accounts for every one of these ten evils from which he suffered by relating some outrageously gross, and cruel crimes and sins, including the murder of a prostitute whom he visited, of which he was, according to himself, guilty in previous states of existence. See *Indian Evangelical Review* for October, 1894, (Vol. XXI. pp. 196-206) or, *The Journal and Text of the Buddhist Text Society*. Vol. i. Part IV. pp. 19-25.

A word or two concerning the Apology of Aristides and its connection with our story. It is of special interest as the earliest extant Christian work addressed to a non-Christian, being the work of Aristides, the Christian philosopher of Athens, addressed to the Emperor Hadrian in the year 125 A.D. It is indeed the earliest extant Christian 'Apology' for Christianity, outside the inspired Apostolic writings, and none of them is really 'Apologetic.' It has come down to us in its original Greek only in our story; and there it is preserved as the speech of Nachor, the Indian Pundit, Rhetorician, or Necromancer (see below pp. 53-65). It was lost to the Christian world for some fourteen hundred years; for, until the last two or three years, its existence in *Barlaam and Joasaph* was not known. How it became known may be interesting to the reader. It was in this wise. While Mr. J. Armitage Robinson, M. A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, was reading the life of Barlaam and Joasaph, in the Library at Vienna, he was struck by the words as seemingly an echo of Aristides' Apology, the Syriac translation of which (discovered only a short time before) he was editing. On returning to England he procured three MSS. of Barlaam in the original Greek and proceeded to compare them with the Syriac, and was greatly gratified to find that the Syriac was practically a free translation of the speech, thus proving the speech in Barlaam to be the long lost 'Apology.' The Syriac, which professes to be Aristides' Apology, is about a half larger than the Greek in the story, thus showing that the Syriac translator increased the book rather than diminished it; or else, that John of Damascus in inserting it into his story curtailed the original Apology. The opening words, "The Apology which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the king concerning the worship of God," are of course wanting in the story. There are also other slight modifications and adaptations, as might be expected. But as to the original identity of the Apology and speech there are no two opinions.

I must offer a remark or two concerning the very anomalous position which the hero of our story—Joasaph or Jehosaphat—occupies in Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. I need not stop to remark on the anomalous position he occupies in Northern Buddhism (or Bodhism as Prof. Max Müller would have it) as contrasted with that occupied by him in Southern Buddhism, as I have

already written of it at some length. But we have also to remember that the very person of Buddha has been appropriated not only by the Hindus as an incarnation of Vishnu, but by the Roman Catholic and the Greek Church as an orthodox canonised Christian saint, and as such entered in the Greek and Roman Calendars, and ordered to be worshipped as a Saint by the former on the 26th of August and by the latter on the 27th day of every November, under the name and title of St. Josaphat, or S. S. Barlaam and Josaphat.

The discovery that the Joasaph or Josaphat of our story was none other than Buddha was made at the same time and independently of one another, by French, German and English scholars. The writer himself admits that the story came from India. Any one can recognise it as none other than that of Buddha as told in the *Lalita Vistara*. Suffice it to say that the identity of Buddha and St. Josaphat cannot be questioned. We need not go over the story of Buddha's life. Our readers know it already—only to make it the life of Josaphat, for Buddhism they must insert Christianity; instead of establishing a new religion, he simply becomes a Christian; and instead of the name Buddha, we have Joasaph or Josaphat; and yet the identity of the catholic saint and the founder of Buddhism was not discovered all these centuries, though the story was translated from the Greek of St John to Arabic, Ethiopic, Armeniau, Hebrew, Latin, French, Italian, German, English, Spanish, Bohemian, Polish, Icelandic and even Tagala, the classical language of the Phillipine Islands. Doubts were, however, thrown upon the authenticity of the story as early as the 16th century, even by good Catholics. The great and learned Bellarmine thought the truth of the story was certified by the fact that at the end of it the author himself worships the two saints Barlaam and Josaphat! However the event may have happened, Max Müller is pleased that his hero, Buddha, the sage of Kapilavastu, the founder of Buddhism, has, as a matter of fact, become a Saint in the Roman Church and thus “received the highest honors that the Christian Church can bestow. And,” he adds, “whatever we may think of the sanctity of Saints, let those who doubt the right of Buddha to a place among them read the story of his life as it is told in the Buddhist canon (*sic*). If he lived the life which is there described, few saints have a better claim to the title than

Buddha; and no one either in the Greek or in the Roman Church need be ashamed of having paid to his memory the honor that was intended for St. Josaphat, the prince, the hermit, and the saint.\*

It is, however, somewhat curious, to say the least of it, that he who denied the existence of God, should himself be worshipped as God by a large portion of the human family, and that the greater part of the remainder should worship him either as a Christian Saint, or as a Hindu incarnation, an embodiment of illusion and deception.

The life of the supposed author, John (Mansur) of Damascus, who died 756 A.D., throws a weird light upon our story. Born and brought up surrounded with luxuries of no ordinary kind, he rose to be chief councillor (or, vizier) to the Saracenic Sultan or Caliph of Damascus, ere the seat was removed to Bagdad; but having unjustly incurred his master's displeasure he was hurled from his high position. To the entreaties of the repentant Caliph to return to his office, John gave a deaf ear. He disposed

\* The old Roman *Festum* "Dionysii Eleutherei rusticum" (the rustic festival of Dionysius, or Bacchus Eleuthereus) is found as three saints—St. Dionysius and companions, St. Eleuther and St. Rustic—in the Roman Calendar, in the Missale Romanum of October, 9th. This Dionysius is popularly corrupted into Denys and Dennis. St. Bacchus is found under Oct. 7th. St. Swithin, it is contended, is none other than St. Sythan, Sytan or Satan, identified with Tammuz and the 40 days of rain. The dragon, which is regarded as the symbol of the evil one, is believed to be none other than "the good St. Vermine." See Chambers' *Book of Days* p. 435, Hislop's *Two Babylons*, 4th Edition pp. 441 note, 459-60 note. The Pope alone can say what saints will have their names "on the canon," i.e. be canonised. In 1585-60 Pope Sixtus the 5th authorised a particular martyrologium, drawn up by Cardinal Baronius, to be used throughout the Western Church. In that work among many others are included under date 27th November "the holy saints Barlaam and Josaphat of India on the borders of Persia whose wonderful acts Saint John of Damascus has described" p. 177 of the edition of 1873, bearing the official approval of Pope Pius ix., or p. 803 of the Cologne edition of 1610. In the *Martyrologium Romanum* published *cum approbatione*: Mechlinæ,—MDCCCLIX, we have under the date 27th November the authorization of no less than five Popes, Gregory xiii., Urban viii., Clement x., Benedict xiv., and Gregory xvi., to the statement:—"Apud Indos Persis finitimos sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat, quorum Actus mirandos sanctus Joannes Damascenus conscripsit:" "When and where they were first canonised, I have been unable, in spite of much investigation, to ascertain," says Prof. Rhys Davids. The oldest list of Saints in which he finds the name is that of Petrus de Natalibus, Bishop of Equilium (1370—1400). In the Greek Church their day is August 26th. In its Manual of worship Josaphat is described as "the holy Josaph, son of Aboner, King of India." Barlaam, who is not recognised as a saint in the Greek Church, is not even mentioned. But the Abyssinian Church has canonized both Barlaam

of all his worldly goods, and, accompanied by a friend, he set out for the Laura of St. Sabas, where in the mean garb of the order, he was placed for training under a strict disciplinarian, an aged monk, who taught him to do nothing of his own will, to wrestle continually with God in prayer, to wash out his past sins by his present tears, to write nothing, to speak nothing, to sing nothing—all this laid upon one of the most voluminous writers\* of all time, and one of the sweetest and most original singers and composers of the age! As a test of his obedience he was ordered to load himself with as many as he could carry of the wicker baskets, the fruit of the industry of his fellow monks, proceed all the way on foot thus laden to Damascus, the great capital, and there sell his baskets at double their value. Nothing daunted by his vivid imagination of what awaited him, he trudged on his journey under a broiling sun and his heavy and most awkward burden, till he reached the streets of the well-known city, where for many years he had been one of its highest and most honoured citizens. The *quondam* chief councillor, dressed in his squalid robes, exposed in the public streets his paltry goods and his weary self to the abuse and jeers of the seum of its bazars; which jeers and abuse must have been greatly intensified because of the exorbitant price he demanded. Thus, however, he conscientiously continued to discharge the duty laid upon him until an old friend, recognising him, bought the baskets, and sent him back to St. Sabas, a stronger man than when he left. On another occasion having been prevailed upon to compose a funeral hymn in honour of a departed brother-monk, his superior came to know of it, and not only angrily upbraided him for the breach of the rule, but expelled him from the trainer's cell. He received him back only on condition of his performing menial service so base that the very monks themselves stood aghast. John, however, submitted to the de-

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and his ass. The practical effect of canonisation is that once the name is put 'on the canon' or 'in the Calendar' of the Church, it becomes the duty of every true 'Catholic' to revere the person so named, to invoke his intercession, to choose from among the number one to be his 'patron saint,' and to set up altars and images in his honour.

\* Under the heading John of Damascus there are in the British Museum Catalogue 28 volumes on Barlaam and Josaphat alone. His works in Greek and Latin, published at Venice, 1748, are in two huge folio volumes of upwards of a thousand pages each.

grading task without scruple, and secured the respect and confidence of his superiors.

John of Damascus was great, not only because of the position in the State which he had occupied and the depth to which he humbled himself. He was, as I have said, a most voluminous writer and yet most able and learned. Through him and like-minded Syrian Christians it was that the torch of ancient learning passed on from the Greeks to the Arabîc conquerors. "What Edessa was as a link between Alexandria and Bagdad, such was John of Damascus between the Greek philosophers and the Saracen conquerors." And sometimes the credit due to him and his fellow Syrian Christians is not unfrequently given to the Moslem Arabs.

John was also great as a controversialist, alike against Muhammadanism, and idolatry with its idols of wood and stone, of silver and gold; yet singularly enough he was equally strong in favour of the use of pictures in Christian worship. This controversial character, especially as against the idolatry that discovers itself in the worship of wood and stone, silver and gold idols, discovers itself very pronouncedly also in *Barlaam and Joasaph*.

Yet again, the Damascene was great as a mathematician and natural historian; he led his age in the study of both these subjects and in the exposure of superstition, so far as he had discovered it. He insisted on laymen of all classes, including even soldiers and peasants, being taught to read, at least the Word of God—a privilege which Roman Catholics would, even at the present day, deny to most laymen. In his youth he studied the Diophantine Arithmetic, which was the germ of our modern Algebra, epitomised the *Organum* of Aristotle, and acquainted himself with the astronomical system of Ptolemy, some two hundred years before Muhammad ben Musa, the supposed inventor of Algebra, had lived. In fact, to the Syrian Christians, of whom John of Damascus was the chief, belongs the credit of having taught their Arabian conquerors what the latter subsequently taught Western Europe. "The chief physicians, and in that sense teachers of science, at the court of Bagdad, appear to have been Nestorians of Syria."

As 'Doctour of Phisik,' old Chaucer had heard of our Damascene, and as one who was worthy of a place in the Prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*.



For he was grounded in astronomye.  
 He kepte his pacient wonderly wel.  
 In houres by his magik naturel.  
 He knew the cause of every maladye,  
 Were it of hoot or cold, or moyste, or drye, \*  
 And where engendred, and of what humour.  
 Wel knew he the olde Esculapius,  
 Averrois, Damascien, and Constantyn.

But though Chaucer knew the great 'Damascien,' his commentators did not feel very sure of their knowledge. The learned Dr. Morris describes him as "also an Arabian physician.....probably of the ninth centry". Mr. Meiklejohn, Professor of Education, St. Andrews, annotating the same word, writes—"Johannes Damascenus, an Arabian physician of the ninth century and secretary to one of the Caliphs." Thus the honor and glory belonging to the Syrian Christian is by Christian teachers given to Musulman Arabs who had no right to it; just as we see so many Christians ready to hand over without any enquiry the doctrines of Our Lord and his apostles to Buddhist monks and missionaries.

Among John's works there are two fragments treating of dragons† and ghouls or evil fairies, which prepare us for much that we find in Barlaam and Joasaph; just as his insistence on laymen of all classes, even soldiers and peasants, reading the Sacred Word, prepares us for the position given to the Word in his romance. His definition of man as "a rational animal, liable to death, and capable of intelligence and knowledge," whose bodily nature consists of "four elements: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile," accords with the importance he gives to death and to the four bodily elements in the same story of the Unicorn, with its four bodily elements and the dragon.

John's geography was that of his age. Hence we need not wonder that the scene of the story is laid in "the interior region of the Ethiopians called India"—"What is called the country of the Indians, a great and populous

\* "*Dry and cold*," black bile or earth; "*cold and moiste*," phlegm or water; "*warm and moist*," blood or air; "*hot and dry*," yellow bile or fire—all four represented by the four adders of Barlaam.

† Damascene's dragons were serpents of greater size than ordinary, which, if like that said by Dion Cassius to have been killed by Regullus were 120 ft. long.

country, which lies at a distance from Egypt, being washed towards that quarter by navigable seas and the main. On the side of the mainland it approaches the confines of Persia."

Alexander the Great expected to discover the source of the Nile in India. Shinar or Sennar figures largely in the story, as the place in whose desert Barlaam lived. Accepting Sennar as a country of which the writer had some correct idea as being around the upper reaches of the Nile and Blue Nile, we must conclude that the writer of Barlaam considered India not very far from the confines of Abyssinia which was regarded as part of Ethiopia. To this day the Abyssinians call themselves Ethiopians, thus connecting our Joasaph, prince of India, with Dr. Johnson's story of "Rasselas, or the prince of Abyssinia." And it is here likely that we will find the basis of truth in the story. When the Thebais was crowded with hermits or monks, very likely a prince of Ethiopia was converted and betook, himself to the desert after much persecution from his father, as described in the Barlaam story.

The word 'Ethiopia' was used in the time of John of Damascus with a very extensive meaning. It included the whole of North Africa between the equator, the Red Sea and the Atlantic. Nay more, for we read of the Ethiopians of Asia, and Indian Ethiopians, so designated because of their being of a darker hue than their immediate neighbours. They, we are told, were a straight-haired race, while their Lybian namesakes were woolly-haired. Most of the inhabitants of India would naturally fall under such a designation.

Homer speaks of two Ethiopias, the one towards the rising sun, and the other towards the setting sun. Mr. Vaux of the British Museum, writing in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, says that in some of the early notices of these Ethiopians many things were "predicated of the African nation which could be only true of an Indian people, and *vice versa*. That there were a people whom the Greeks called *Æthiopes* in the neighbourhood, if not within the actual boundaries, of India, is clear from Herodotus... While abundant instances may be observed of the intermixture of the accounts of the African and Indian Ethiopians." John of Damascus, in the story of Barlaam, is clearly guilty of this intermixture.

Of India proper the Greeks were profoundly ignorant

Neither Homer nor Pindar, nor either of the great Greek dramatists Sophocles or Euripides, ever mentions either India or any of its peoples. And even when it becomes known, at least by name, little became known beyond a few proper names. Not till the time of Alexander the Great was any really trustworthy knowledge of India obtained in Europe, and then it was very meagre—and it does not seem to have penetrated to any great extent through the profound darkness which had reigned for so many ages.

Hipparchus (about B. C. 150) regarded Ceylon, not as an island, but as the commencement of another continent, which extended, as Aristotle held, till it joined Sennar in Africa, an idea which the author of Barlaam also clearly cherished. Then on the North-West, India was regarded by Ptolemy as including the whole of Kabul and Beluchistan. "Bengalia called Uria" was regarded as outside India, while Burma was in India. So far in regard to the Geography of our story.

When it is said that Barlaam and Joasaph is largely Buddhistic, what is meant is that a good deal of the subject matter came originally from a Buddhistic book, or it may be books, but that the result was a new book, containing nothing peculiar to the creed or doctrines of Buddhism. In using the material, all doctrines and indeed expressions contradictory of Christian beliefs were discarded, or rejected. For example, there is not only no atheism or even agnosticism, no denial of personality or doctrine of soul, but no clear explicit hint of *Karma* and metempsychosis. On the other hand any doctrine or practice that had a common basis in Christianity or in Christian human nature, and in Buddhism or Buddhistic human nature, is emphasised and exaggerated, such for example as the presence of suffering in the world, the impermanency of earthly things, their unsatisfying character, the unending round of changes that go on for ever, the strength of temptation and the necessity to guard against it, the evils of the world, the flesh and the devil, of all self-seeking and the duty of penance or endurance and celibacy. All these are exaggerated out of all proportion to their importance. Then, on the other hand, those doctrines which are strictly peculiar to Christianity are comparatively ignored, or very little made of them, simply because they were not found in the mass of materials out of which the story was built. Within these limits great liberty is taken, not only with the

original Buddhistic material, but also by each translator of the original Greek of the story, and indeed with each succeeding version or recension of the story. This will be seen in the five or six here reproduced. Each is quite different from the other as a work—that is, none of them could be regarded with our present ideas, as a translation of the other. We see that not only have they a common origin, but largely a common material; but that is all. The same may be said of the whole extensive literature, which appears under the various titles of ‘Kalilag and Damnag,’ ‘Kalilah and Dimnah,’ ‘Pancha Tantrā,’ Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara,’ ‘Hitopadesa,’ &c.

The characters of Barlaam, true and false, are undoubtedly founded on the Barlaam of *Numbers* 22-25, and *Rev.* 2-14, the inspired prophet of God, yet astrologer or diviner, “who taught Balak (King of Moab) to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols and to commit fornication.” with “the daughters of Moab”—Buddha’s as well as Joasaph’s temptation. Was the Pentateuchal story the original of both? What says Mr. Dutt?

We must not forget the influence which the Zeitgeist exercised on the writer. He was himself an ascetic, living in the midst of ascetics. He belonged to the Laura of St. Sabas on the Kidron, half way between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. He lived in the desert a solitary in his cell in the neighbourhood of a large number of like hermits, whose exemplar was Anthony, referred to below at p. 81, who, under the influence of such texts as “Sell all that thou hast”. “Take no thought for the morrow,” divested himself of all his worldly wealth, fixed his dwelling in the midst of barren hills, about a day’s journey from the Red Sea, in a ruined tower, the entrance to which he blocked up with stones. There he remained for many a year, seeing no human countenance, unless it were that of a friend who twice a year brought him a supply of bread. It was in this solitude that he experienced the temptations which have become famous. Outraged human nature rose against him and filled his imagination, sometimes with horrible forms of demons, sometimes with alluring phantoms of beautiful women, much the same as we find in the lives of Buddha. After some years of this life he returned to society, visited Alexandria, attended courts, and again went back to the asceticism of the desert, thousands following him. “Paul

*of Thebes had dwelt since the persecution of Decius in a cave of the desert, where a palm-tree gave him shade, clothing and food. For ninety years he had been lost to men and was found by Anthony as he lay at the point of death. As his own end drew near he withdrew from the veneration and the disquiet of human kind further into the desert, and only reappeared occasionally to defend the faith or to protect the oppressed. He departed at last in extreme old age, leaving behind him the fame of a pure and simple character and a great posterity in the numerous army of hermits." If the lives of Buddha influenced the beginning of Joasaph, that of Anthony coloured the closing scenes.*

Buddha and Anthony alike were powerfully worked upon by desire—Buddha by the desire to extirpate desire so as to destroy its fruits, existence and consequent suffering; Anthony by the desire to perfect his present existence so as to fit him for a higher and a holier. The means they took had much in common, and that was to destroy all bodily appetites (Christ and his Apostles demanded that they should be kept in subjection, not destroyed). Hence Buddha and Anthony alike condemned marriage and taught celibacy, the renunciation of property and of secular business, of household cares, and indeed of all church and altruistic anxieties. Hence the impulse to live in solitude in the desert, which is so vividly brought before us in Barlaam's case. Rest from work and freedom from care have still their charms to many living in enervating times and relaxing climates. The times of Anthony and John of Damascus, and the climate of Syria and Egypt were to all this very favourable. It must be admitted, however, that their lives had a converting influence on many of the non-Christians among whom they lived, just as the asceticism of the Salvationist undoubtedly has on some at the present day. Men, otherwise careless, were in some cases arrested by so extraordinary a spectacle; and it chimed in with the peculiar disposition or bent of soul of many others, such as are naturally ascetic and of a retiring temperament, and who gladly avail themselves of any justification of such a life.

The evils resulting from such lives very soon became patent. Not only were many strong vigorous lives lost to the church and to society, and to all the good which they might have done to the world; but they themselves suffered.

"Woe to him that is alone when he falleth, and hath not another to lift him up." Sin, it is found by sad experience, cannot be extirpated by penance or solitude; nor can fellowship with God be so obtained. "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God" (*Micah* 6-8). "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep thyself unspotted from the world." (*James* 1, 27).

It may be stated in conclusion that the "*History of the Five Wise Philosophers*," as printed below, is a mosaic of early 17th century English and that of the close of the 19th; so that it may prove a useful exercise to the Student of English to attempt to analyze it, separating the earlier from the later English.

The other four versions are given verbatim, as in the original. For them we are greatly indebted to Dr. Morris' reprint of the *Golden Legend* and to Dr. Carl Hortsmann's *Attenglische Legenden*; and for translations of quotations from Buddhistic works chiefly to Prof. Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*.

K. S. M.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
FIVE WISE PHILOSOPHERS :  
OR  
THE WONDERFUL RELATION OF THE LIFE OF  
JEHOSAPHAT,  
SON OF AVENARIO KING OF BERMA  
IN INDIA.

( To which is added — )

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*A treatise both pleasant, profitable and pious, by H. P. Gent.*

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LONDON :

Printed for EDW. MIDWINTER, at the three Crowns and  
Looking-glass, in St. Paul's Church yard.

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(Verse under a vignette facing the above title page)

Reader, take pattern by this princely youth,  
Who walked upright in godliness and truth,  
Wisely pursue the sufferings of this prince,  
And how Barlaam gained his innocence.

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No date is given, but the Addenda referred to in the title page are dated 1732.

There is also in the British Museum an earlier edition, printed for Eben.  
Tracy on London Bridge, dated 1711.—K. S. M.



THE title in the original Greek of the Romance reads “*A profitable story brought to the Holy City from the further part of Ethiopia, called India, by John the Monk,\* an honorable virtuous man, of the monastery of St. Sabas, containing the Life of Barlaam and Joasaph, famous and blessed men*”.

The original story is prefaced with the Gospel reference—‘Having regard to the danger incurred by the servant who, when he had received the talent from his master, hid it in the earth, I cannot keep silence concerning a useful story which has come to my knowledge, and which pious men from the distant district of Ethiopia, called India, told me had been translated from trustworthy records. Now the story is as follows: The country of the Indians, which is large and populous, lies far away from Egypt. It is surrounded by seas and navigable bays on the side that looks towards Egypt; it extends inland to the borders of Persia. For a long time it was clouded over by the darkness of idolatry. But when the only begotten Son of God sent forth his disciples to preach to all the nations, the most holy Thomas, one of the twelve, came to India to proclaim the message of Salvation. The Lord worked with him and confirmed the word by signs that followed, so that superstition was driven away and the people adopted the true faith.....Many of them left all that they had; they entered into the desert; in their mortal body, they adopted the life of the immortals; and many of them, it is said, with golden wings mounted up to heaven.’

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\* This ‘John the Monk’ is generally believed to have been St. John of Damascus, the great ecclesiastical writer, who died in 756 A. D. The story is found published in Greek and Latin among his works. It contains frequent quotations from Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen, his favourite authors, and copious extracts from his other writings, notably that *On the Orthodox Faith*. Some, however, think that the John of the Monastery of St. Sabas was John of Sinai who flourished about 564 A. D. While adopting the *History of the Five Wise Philosophers* as the basis, I have worked into it those passages that are in the original Greek as translated by Dr. Berry, which had been dropped in the course of time. I have also restored the original name of the hero Joasaph, and of the other personages of the story.—K. S. M.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
FIVE WISE PHILOSOPHERS  
OR  
THE LIFE OF JEHOSEPHAT.

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THE flourishing state of Burma had to their King, Abenner, a prince most cruel against the Christians, insomuch that he made a Decree that all should be banished out of his Kingdom ; to that end commissions were sent, that they who were found after a day prefixed should be slain.

The Christians and monks regarded the King's Majesty as of no account ; they feared not his threats, but devoted themselves to those things that pertained to the service of God. They treated as contemptible every earthly delight ; they thirsted after death for Christ's sake, and yearned for the blessedness of martyrdom, and so without fear or reserve they proclaimed the name of God the Saviour. They spoke of nothing save Christ. They clearly taught all men how changeful and impermanent were all things present ; how sure and incorruptible was the life to come. Hence many were rescued from the darkness of deceit, and walked in the pleasant life of the truth ; even some notable persons, members of the Royal Council, renounced all the burdens of life

and became monks...The chief monks either endured martyrdom or else hid themselves in desert places and in mountains, not through fear of the threatened torments, but with a holier purpose in view.

At this time one of the King's servants, a chief ruler in rank, who excelled all the rest in valour, in stature, in beauty, having heard the impious Decree, bade farewell to the vain and degrading pomp and glory in which he had lived, resorted to the monks and exiled himself in solitary places. With noble purpose he purified his senses by fasting and watching, and by the diligent study of the sacred Oracles; having delivered his soul from every kind of emotion, he shone with the light of dispassionate calm.

The king sent for him and roundly abused him for what he did, on which the man of God cheerfully and calmly answered—"If you desire, O King, to enter into conversation with me, remove I pray you, your enemies out of the court, and then I will answer you." "And who are these enemies," the king asked, "whom you bid me remove?" "Anger and lust," the holy man answered, "for from the first the Creator intended them to be fellow workers with our nature, and so they are to those who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit. But in you, who are altogether cruel and who have not the Spirit, they are enemies and opponents. In you lust, when it is gratified, excites pleasure, but when it is baffled, it causes anger. This day therefore remove the hindrances, and let prudence and righteousness preside in their stead, and hear and judge what I say." The King having consented, the hermit stated how when young he heard a voice the scope of whose words was—"Fools despise things that are as though they are not; they lay hold on and interest themselves in things that are not as though they are. He who has not tasted the sweetness of things that are, cannot learn the

nature of things that are not. And not learning, how shall he despise them'. And the voice called what is eternal and unchangeable 'things that are'; but the present life, luxury and pleasure, falsely so called, it described as 'things that are not.' "My mind", the hermit added, "impelled me to choose the better course; but the law of sin, which warred against the law of my mind, bound me, as it were, with fetters of iron and held me captive by the attractive power of things present. But when the goodness of God our Saviour delivered me from this terrible bondage, he strengthened my mind to overcome the law of sin and he opened my eyes to discern the evil and the good. Then indeed I perceived that all things were vanity and a striving after wind, as Solomon, wisest of men, says somewhere in his writings. Then the veil of sin was taken from my heart. Hence forsaking all things I followed Him; and I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord that He delivered me from '*mortar and brick*' (Exod. i, 14) and from the cruel and deadly prince of the darkness of this world; and that he showed me the short and easy way whereby in this body of clay I can embrace the angelic life. In the desire to attain thereto I choose to tread the narrow and straitened way, to despise utterly the vain things of time, and their *changeeful turnings and returns*. I am determined to call nothing good, save that which is good indeed...You, O King, show your ignorance of what is good when you set God and human friendship with its fleeting glory, one against the other. How could we for such things cast in our lot with you, and not rather renounce friendship and honour, our affection for our children, and all else whatever it may be. I desire not things present, I despise their frailty and vanity. Which of them is useful, or permanent, or satisfying? With the pleasure they afford is bound up every trouble and pain. My inspired teacher tells me briefly — '*The whole world lieth in evil*', and, '*Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. For all that is in*

*the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes, and the vain glory of life, and the world passes away and the lust thereof, but he that does the will of God abides for ever.*' Seeking then the good will of God, I forsook all, I joined myself to those who are possessed by the same desire, and run the same course, that they may obtain the eternal mansions which the Father of Lights prepared for those who love Him." \*

As the man of God cheerfully spoke these words, the King was moved with anger, but delayed punishing him through respect for his dignity. At length interrupting him, he cried "Wretched man, bent upon your own destruction driven there-to by fate! Had I not at the beginning promised to send forth anger out of the Council Chamber I would deliver thy body to the fire. Get out of my sight. I will no longer look upon you, lest I bring you to a terrible end."

The man of God departed into the desert, grieved that he had not suffered martyrdom. And the King in his anger stirred up a still fiercer persecution against the monks.

The King had, as his queen, a lady of incomparable beauty, but barren of children. This caused great grief to them both; for often times he gathered together the priests of his idols and offered great sacrifices, to the end they should pray to their gods, that they would be pleased to give him a child; but all was in vain. After a time she, however, conceived—Christ showing a miracle. This caused the King greatly to rejoice, making to his idols beautiful feasts, and offerings to his priests, causing great joy and mirth through his court.

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\* See the ingenious way Buddhism and Christianity are blended together in this speech, and indeed throughout the whole story.

Within three months that she should be delivered the King commanded all the wise men to assemble before him, choosing five out of them, and said,

“Sirs, the cause why I sent for you is, that you should remain in my court till the Queen be delivered, and when the child is born to tell what planet at that time most reigned, and what nature and disposition the child shall be off.” To which all answered, “We will obey your command”.

A while after the Queen brought forth a beautiful male child who by his comeliness gave proof of what his future would be, and whom he named Joasaph causing great joy and feasting thro’ the Kingdom, the King giving large gifts, and offering great offerings to the idols and gods that they would grant the child a long and prosperous life, to be gracious in the eyes of the people, that after his death he might maintain the Kingdom in peace and tranquility.

When the feasting was ended, within three days, the King called the five wise men who had been conversant with Chaldean astrology, and said to them :—“Tell me of what nature my son shall be of, and what fortune he shall have.”

Then four of them answered, “Sir, we find nothing but good towards him ; for our astrological books shew he shall be of a strong nature, great, fair of person, full of knowledge, long lived, and you shall have much joy in him, and always he will be obedient to your command.” At this saying the King was well pleased, and replied. “I will also hear the opinion of the fifth astrologer”; for he was esteemed wiser than the others. When he came, the King asked him what he thought concerning his son, and whether he was of the same mind the former were of.

Then he replied, "Sir, I wish I could tell you better tidings of your son than what I shall say, for I find not under what planet he was born, but will contradict what the four former wise men have spoken".

The King desired him to reveal the truth.

Then said the philosopher, "Sir, I find your son shall be great, and more wise than any of your race; but for the present I will declare the worst, which is, he will embrace the Christian religion which you persecute." When the astrologer spoke this like Balaam of old, it was God, not his astrology that brought the truth to light.

When the King heard the Savii say so, his grief was exceedingly increased, and he said, "How shall I prevent my son's being a Christian?"

To whom he answered, "Let him for three years together suck, and in the mean while cause a palace to be built, in which let there be neither window nor balcony, to hinder his looking abroad. That done, cause him to be put therein, and set over him some strict guardian or master, in whom you most confide. Also let him choose twelve young maids, from thirteen to twenty years old, commanding his tutor to instruct him in your religion, bidding all, upon pain of death, not once to speak of Christ, nor any other Christian. Besides, let him be instructed in learning, telling him he shall never die, but live for ever. And if any of the maids be sick or die, let another be made choice of like unto the former, commanding them not to talk of old age, death, nor any thing that may discontent him; nor let him speak with any except those in the palace, giving him all the delights and pleasures imaginable, to the end he may not grieve nor be angry, but let him have all the joys and pleasures as may

be so that his mind may be enticed and thereby enervated so as to lose all power of thinking. So let him remain there fifteen years ; afterwards, you may permit him to go forth."

The King said, " Wherefore should I do this?"

The philosopher answered, " It is reported the life of the Christians is such, that if any will observe their law, he ought to suffer poverty, pain, fasting, giving alms, and do penance for the love of Christ, always not giving themselves to the pleasures of the world, but ever mourning for their sins, afflicting their bodies, striving to be chaste and clean from all carnal delights. It is said also of the Christians who live in this world after the flesh, that they shall live in misery through all eternity ; but if a man lives after the Spirit, poor and patient, for the love of Christ, doing good works, he shall go into paradise, possessing those joys which never shall have end. Therefore, Sir, cause your son to be thus brought up till he be fifteen years old ; so when he is used to eat, drink, and take his full delight, you may after marry him to some great princess. Till then you must not let him forth ; so that neither all the Christians, nor their prayers, can convert, nor draw him from our law, nor from the pleasures of the world. By this means he shall never become a Christian."

When the King heard the saying of this wise philosopher, he was much pleased, and said, "*All this I will do.*" So forthwith he sent for a baron, whose name was Lionone, a man who, for his former fidelity, the King did much confide in, saying unto him, " O Lionone ! I have sent for thee because thou art he in whom I dare repose more trust, than any other in the world. To confirm the same, I shall commit the greatest jewel I have into thy custody, which is my son Joasaph, who shall remain under thy tuition fifteen years :



and thou shalt have also twelve young virgins and one tutor, the virgins from thirteen to twenty years old, all in a palace with my son, commanding them never to name *Jesus Christ*, nor other Christian, nor suffer him to speak with any living creature save those who are in the palace; and that you shall bring him up in our religion, giving him all the content that may be. And if thou dost these things according as I command thee, then no man shall be more gracious in my sight, to ask anything which shall not be granted by me; but if thou dost anything contrary to what I have said, I shall hold thee the greatest enemy in the world: therefore have a care of him, and I shall be obliged to thee; but if thou wilt not do it, answer me quickly."

Lionone then said, "Sir, in all things I will obey your Highness' command."

Then caused the king a palace to be made as the philosopher had advised him, and when three years were expired the king sent for Lionone, for the tutor, and the virgins, and said to the philosopher "I would have you instruct Lionone, the tutor, and the virgins how they should bring up and educate my son".

Then he began to teach them in what manner they should look to him; and when they were well instructed what they should do, the king commanded on pain of their lives they should be obedient to what the philosopher had said. So all, with Joasaph, went into the palace, and when he had been there some time, he grew fair, pleasant and delightful.

Then the king went to visit him, and seeing so great an improvement in him, he was well pleased: nor could he stay above eight days from seeing of him, nor parted from him without grief.

When he had been there seven years, his tutor had well instructed him in learning; and when he came to the age of thirteen years he proceeded in so many arts and sciences, that his tutor did much marvel, and said unto Lionone, if Joasaph doth live he will be a great philosopher. Besides, his carriage was so affable, courteous, and pleasant, that it made all to admire; and often he would dispute about hard questions which made his tutor wonder.

Meanwhile something happened which affected the king very deeply and made him more than ever enraged against the Christians. There was a man who as his prime minister lived in the palace; he was kind hearted and pious, seeking as far as possible his own salvation, but secretly, for fear of the king. Some persons who envied him his intimacy with the king, conspired to accuse him falsely, and were constantly looking for an opportunity of carrying out their plan. On one occasion when the King went out to hunt with his usual retinue, this good man was one of those who went out with him. As he was walking along it happened, by divine Providence I believe, that he met a man in a thicket lying on the ground, whose foot had been terribly crushed by a wild beast. Seeing him passing, the man cried to have pity on him, "and," he added "I shall not show myself unmindful or ungrateful". The nobleman replied—"For the sake of what is right I will help you, and give you what care I can; but what good you say shall I get from you?" "I am a healer of slander," the poor man replied, "if therefore at any time you should be injured by slander or gossip, I shall cure it with suitable remedies so that it will do you no further harm." Thinking nothing of the promise, the nobleman took the poor man to his house and cared for him.

Envious men, not long thereafter, falsely accused the prime minister to the king as plotting terrible things against the

kingdom, perverting the people and drawing them away after himself. "If you wish," they said to the king, "to be assured that we speak the truth, consult him privately, so to test him; tell him that you wish to forsake the religion of your fathers and the glory of your kingdom, and to embrace the Christian life, which you formerly persecuted, as though you were sorry for what you had done".

The King knew well how great was the fidelity of his prime minister towards him. He therefore regarded these statements as false; and he was determined not to accept them without proof. So he called him apart and said to him, "You know what my feelings towards those who are called monks and towards all Christians have been. Now I have changed my mind. I shall hence forward treat with contempt the things of this world, so that I may be partaker of the hopes of which I have heard them speak, and inherit the eternal kingdom in the life to come, for my present reign will undoubtedly be cut short by death. I see no other way of accomplishing my purpose than that I should become a Christian and renounce the glory of my kingdom and the pleasures of life. I shall seek the monks wherever they are and cast in my lot with them. Now what say you to this? How do you counsel me? Speak like truth itself; for I know that you are sincere, and right-minded above all men."

The good man, as he listened, failed utterly to perceive the snare that was laid for him: he was touched to the heart, and with tears he said:—

"O King, live for ever. It is a good and wholesome plan you have devised. For though the kingdom of heaven is hard to find, we must seek it with all our might, for He says—'He who seeks it shall find it.' Now the enjoyment of things present, though apparently productive of pleasure and delight,

it is well to renounce. There is no reality in it; and those whom it gratifies, it afterwards tortures sevenfold. Its pleasures and its pains are less substantial than a shadow. They pass away more swiftly than the track of a ship that goes over the sea, or of a bird that flies through the air. The hope of things to come, of which the Christians speak, is sure and steadfast. But it involves affliction in this world. Our present pleasures are short lived, and hereafter there is nothing save punishment to expect, and torment that can never end. The pleasure is temporal, the pain eternal. But for Christians the toil is temporal, the happiness and the profit everlasting. May the king's good counsel then be accomplished; for it is well to receive what is eternal in exchange for what is corruptible."

The king was very indignant as he heard these words, but he restrained his anger and said nothing to the man. The prime minister was however intelligent enough to see that the king was displeased with him, and that he must be the victim of some plot. He returned to his home pained at heart, not knowing how to appease the king, and to escape the danger that threatened him. As he lay awake all the night long, there came to his mind the recollection of the poor man whose foot had been crushed. He called him and said—"You told me that you were a healer of hurtful words?" "Yes," the poor man replied, "if you wish I shall give you proof of my skill".

The prime minister then told the poor man of his interview with the king and the impression it made on his mind.

After thinking for a little over the matter the poor man said—"Be it known to you, Sir, that the king harbours a suspicion against you, that you want to seize his kingdom. He has tried to test you. Go then, shave your head, put off your

gorgeous apparel, put on garments of hair, and in the morning enter the king's presence. When he asks you the meaning of this conduct, answer—"As to what you enquired of me yesterday, O King, here I am ready to follow you upon the way that you take. For, though luxury be enticing and pleasant, far be it from me to cling to it when you have renounced it. Though the path of virtue be rough and difficult, in your company it will be easy, smooth and pleasant. As you made me partaker of the pleasures here, so will you find me join in what is painful, that I may share with you in what is to come."

The prime minister took the advice of his humble friend and did as he was bid. And when the king saw and heard him, he was delighted, perceiving with joy his loyalty to him. He knew now that what had been alleged against him was false, and he made him recipient of greater honour and more intimate friendship than ever. But against the monks, his anger was intensified, for he saw that the renunciation of the world and its pleasures was their teaching.

Now when the king's son, the hero of our story, noble in person, prudent in heart, and conspicuous in every virtuous accomplishment, had remained full fourteen years confined, within his palace walls, and had so well improved in all literature, art and science, the king seeing him so wise and gracious, rejoiced exceedingly thereat, and said to himself, "False was the saying of that philosopher, who told me I should have much grief and sorrow of my son; instead of which I have the greatest joy and consolation, that the grief I may sustain cannot countervail the delight which now I enjoy."

The boy propounded questions concerning nature to his teachers, which made them marvel at his quickness and intelligence; and the king was charmed also with the grace

of his countenance and the culture of his mind. He kept telling those who were attending on the boy to allow none of the painful aspects of life to become known to him. Not a word was to be said about death, or disease or suffering of any kind. But he buoyed himself with vain hopes, and he was like one shooting arrows to try and hit the sky, as the proverb goes, for how could death escape the notice of any human being? And truly it escaped not the notice of the boy.

Being now come to the age of fifteen years, he began to favour one of the virgins more than the rest, and said unto her, "Thou art she in whom I repose much more trust than in all thy companions. Therefore, I pray thee, for the love I bear unto thee, to tell me the reason why my father keeps me so close confined, and if thou wilt tell me the truth, I promise thee I will conceal it, so that none shall have knowledge thereof; but if thou deniest to reveal the truth, and that I hear it from some other, none shall be a greater enemy to me than thyself."

Joasaph speaking these words unto her, she turned her face to the wall and wept, not knowing how to answer him; but, pausing a while with herself, spake thus—"Most noble Sir, you have put me to such a strait, that I know not how to answer you better than with silence; for should I tell you the truth, the king your father would put me to death; and if I deny to fulfil your command, you will hold me the chiefest enemy you have."

Whilst thus she stood, not knowing what to do, Joasaph with fair words desired to know the truth, and said "Fear nothing, no harm shall come unto thee".

The damsel not able further to contain herself, said, "My lord, before you were born, the king your father sent

for five wise men, the chiefest in his kingdom, and would know what fortune you should have, and what was your destiny. Then one of the five answered, you should become a Christian. The king for fear of that built this palace, causing you not to come out till fifteen years were expired; and then he intends to set you free, and marry you to some great princess”.

Joasaph now knowing the truth, was very well pleased, having understood the occasion thereof, and why he was so strictly looked after, and musing with himself, his desire was the more to come forth. So, calling Lionone unto him, he said, “O Lionone, I pray favour me so much as to open the gate, because I would recreate myself abroad, and presently I’ll return.”

Lionone said, “Sir, I cannot, till first I have licence from your father.” Joasaph entreated he would be a means to get him leave.

At this time a good impression was made upon the boy. The grace of the Comforter began to open the eyes of his understanding, leading him to the true God.

Lionone in all haste went, and coming to the king, told how desirous his son was to take the fresh air. At this the king was much grieved, and told him that one of these days he should come forth. So Abenner, three days after, went himself and asked him what he would have.

Joasaph, kneeling, replied, “My liege, for the great love you ever bore unto me, and for the patience I have so long suffered, let me entreat you that I may see the city.” Then presently he wept.

The king seeing his great desire, said, " Weep not, my son. The time will not be long but your request shall be granted."

Then he went away, and caused a proclamation forthwith to be published, that when Joasaph should ride through the city, neither man, woman, nor child that had any infirmity, as lame, blind, crooked, nor any aged person whatsoever, should once appear, but retire into their houses; nor should any such presume to stand at their doors, windows, or balconies, upon pain of death, nor be seen at that time; because his son should not behold the misery of this world. Further, he commanded, that all who were young, lusty and strong, should shew themselves openly; to the end that when Joasaph passed by, he might take a better view of them.

Now when four days were over. the king with his lords went to the palace to accompany Joasaph towards the city: and being mounted on a goodly horse, he wondered to see so many lusty men, and they as much wondered to see so brave a prince; the damsels sitting in their windows singing in the balconies, others on instruments playing with such mirth and jollity in the streets, that it did much amaze him, because he had never seen the like before. So when he had taken his full delight, by his father's command he returned to the palace, charging Lionone he should not go forth again without his special order.

Now when Joasaph was come to the palace, he began to talk with the damsel concerning the great pomp he saw in the city. To whom she replied, " My gracious Lord, did you but see the mountains, valleys, beasts, birds, flowers, plants and other rarities this world doth afford, your joy then would be twice as much."



The damsel's words bred in him a greater desire the second time to take the air : so presently calling another maid, he said, " Go tell the king, if it might so please him, I would see the meadows and pleasant fields."

Then she went, delivering the message to his father, who said, " Return and tell him, within fifteen days he shall have his desire".

The time being come, the king, with many barons, lords and knights went to the palace, accompanying Joasaph through the city all being in the same posture as at the first. For neither lame, blind, nor aged persons were seen, nor any that were sick or infirm : the men healthful and lusty ; the women young, fair and most richly clad. So riding five miles they came to a goodly plain, adorned with flowers, herbs, and plants, on the trees birds singing, on the grass beasts feeding, at which sight Joasaph did much wonder. To give him the more delight, the cavaliers rode a hunting ; and by reason of their earnestness in game, Joasaph was left but with a small company, he still musing on the flowers, birds, and cattle ; so going forward, about the middle of the plain he espied a blind man, and another who was leprous, who for God's sake desired an alms. When Joasaph saw them, he stood still, and fixing his eyes upon them, asked Lionone what they were.

He answered, " Men, that by reason of sin were so born" [see Luke xiii, 1-5]. Joasaph said, " Are not all men born healthful and illuminated as I and thou ?" Lionone replied, " Some are lame, some struck with planets and other some blind according to the will of God".

When Joasaph heard this, he said, " So it might have happened to thee and me ?"

He answered, "Many are born healthy, but afterward become infirm, some lame, some blind, other some leprous; it being a common thing in this world: therefore every one that is healthy hath the greater reason to praise God."

When Joasaph understood that he likewise might be lame, leprous, blind, or infirm, as these two were, he was much afraid, and departing from that place, said, "Let us return homeward."

Now, when he came to his palace, he began to think of these two men, and being troubled, took no delight as at other times. This Lionone seeing, he went presently to the king, and said, "Sir, your son Joasaph, on what occasion I know not, hath taken so deep a melancholy that he is much altered, and delights in nothing, neither can I imagine the cause thereof. I thought it therefore my duty to acquaint you therewith, to prevent if possible farther danger which may ensue. My counsel is (if your Majesty approves of it) not to restrain him so much of his liberty: but send your huntsmen and falconers to shew him some delight and sport, whereby to remove this inward grief."

Lionone's counsel much pleased the king, and he presently gave orders that all should attend on him.

So Lionone returned to the palace, and told Joasaph what the king had said, for which he seemed to be very well pleased.

Now as his father had formerly done, so he gave orders that the young cavaliers should be ready to wait on him. Then he sent his hounds and spaniels with his huntsmen to Joasaph who presently took his horse, and riding with his company about four miles from the city, they espied a hern:

so letting the falcon fly, he saw a brave battle between them in the air, in which he took great delight; and passing on further, he saw other game. So spending this day to his great content, till night approached, he repaired homeward; and going by a wood-side, there appeared before him a man, who from his cell crept forth, near upon a hundred years old, toothless, bald-headed, hollow-eyed, wrinkle-faced, lean, going on crutches, and having the palsy: whom Joasaph spying, staid his horse, and earnestly looking on him, said to Lionone "What thing is this that is so ill-favoured, and seems to walk?"

To whom he replied, "He is a man, grown old and infirm by reason of age, so that his natural strength is decayed. This causeth the loss of his teeth and baldness; neither can he live long, but of necessity must shortly die."

When Joasaph heard so much, he said to Lionone, "What becometh of him then?" He answered, "Put into the earth or burned to ashes." Joasaph replied, "The false and wicked man, when must he die, and what death?"

Lionone said, "None can tell when, nor the time, but God only."

Now when Joasaph had duly considered Lionone's words, incontinently he began to think on death, saying to himself, "Seeing I must die and become earth, what profits riches and honour, though I be Lord of the earth?" Then began he to despise the world, saying to Lionone, "Let's go to the city."

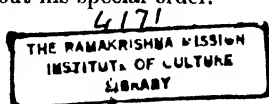
Being now come to his palace, his thoughts were of nothing but of death, saying to himself, "Perhaps I may die to-day or to-morrow, and from this hour I will only carry the

figure of death before my eyes, nor henceforth take any delight in worldly pleasures." These thoughts of his ascended into heaven. As he continually thought thus, he became pale and worn, but whenever he met his father he assumed a cheerful and bright expression, not wishing that he should know his trouble. But he longed with an irresistible desire for some one who could satisfy his heart and speak a word of comfort to him. When the youth was in this state, yearning in his soul to find what was good, the Eye that sees all things beheld him, and He that willeth all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth passed him not by, but manifested towards him His wonted kindness, and in this manner revealed to him the way wherein he should go. His thoughts ascended into heaven, and Christ seeing his true intent to forsake the world, took pity on him and sent an angel to an hermit whose name was Barlaam, about three score years old, thirty of which he had spent in the wilderness in the land of Shinar mourning for his sins.

Then spake the angel to the hermit, and said, "Go find out Joasaph the son of Abenner, and preach unto him in the name of Jesus Christ; so shall you convert the Indians to the Christian Faith."

Barlaam then went to a friend of his desiring him to lend him some gorgeous apparel, the which he put over his hairy clothes. After that he embarked on board ship and came to the kingdom of India, where he assumed the appearance of a merchant, and went to Joasaph's palace and said to the porter, "Friend, I would gladly speak with your Prince, Joasaph."

To whom he replied, "You may not, nor think of such a thing, because the king hath commanded no man should be admitted without his special order."



Barlaam said, "Did you but know the occasion why I come, you would soon give me leave; but if I go hence, and he hears you deny me entrance, he will be very much displeased with you."

The porter said, "What is your business?"

Barlaam answered, "I am a merchant, and I am come from a far country; and I have a jewel of great price, the like of which has never been found. It hath this virtue, that whoever hath it shall never die. It can give the light of wisdom to those who are blind in heart; it can open the ears of the deaf, give speech to the dumb and health to the sick; it makes wise the simple; it drives demons away. But if I may not now speak with him, I then will carry it to some other great lord who will esteem of it as a mighty treasure."

When he heard of such a jewel, having so many virtues, he desired much to see it, promising that he should have entrance.

The hermit said, "I will not shew it thee; for why shouldst thou desire such a thing, before thy lord hath seen it? Nor is there reason for it. Besides, no man may see it unless he be a 'virgin'. Thou art not. Therefore thou may'st not see it; but I will shew it unto thy master, because he is a 'virgin'."

The porter then knowing that Barlaam spake true, said, "Stay here until I tell my Lord." So presently he went, declaring the words which passed between them.

At this news Joasaph was glad, commanding the porter he should bring the merchant to him.

When Barlaam came in, he took him by the hand, leading him into his chamber, saying, "O Sir, will you show me the precious stone the porter spake of?" Barlaam answered, "I must say nothing false or ill-considered to one in your position. Everything that has been said to you concerning me is accurately true. But unless I first test your disposition, I cannot reveal the mystery. For my master says—"*The sower went forth to sow his seed*". [Here follows the Parable, Luke viii, 5-15]. If then I find in your heart good and fruitful soil, I shall not hesitate to implant the divine seed and to reveal the great mystery. But if it be rocky or thorny or a way trodden by all who will, it were better not to sow this good seed than to allow it to be carried away by the fowls of the air and the beasts of the earth, before which I am forbidden to cast pearls. But I am persuaded '*better things concerning you and things that accompany salvation*,' that you will behold this priceless stone, and that by the brilliancy of its light you will see light and bear fruit an hundred fold. For it was on your account that I determined to take this long journey, that I might show you what you have never seen and teach you what you have not heard. The jewel that I have is not seen with the outward eye, but with the eye of the mind."

Joasaph replied, "How can a man see it with his mind?"

Barlaam said, "The mind of man knows all things in this world, and above that his great Creator, God; but if a man knows not his Creator, he can never see this precious stone."

Joasaph said, "Who is my Creator?"

Barlaam answered, "God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are three persons, and only one God. He it is

who created Heaven, Earth, the Sea, and all things contained in them ; and He it is who sent his son Jesus Christ who is God and man, to save mankind ; and it was He that sent His angel that I should come to thee and teach thee to know him : neither am I a merchant, but a hermit, who lives in the desert doing penance from my love to our Lord Jesus Christ, and I am called Barlaam."

Then Joasaph said, " Who is that Christ thou sayest is God and man ?"

Barlaam answered, " He it is who made the Heaven empyrean, calling it Paradise, and in this created angels, archangels, in such dignity and glory that no human tongue can express. Among these he created one more glorious than the rest, calling his name Lucibello, who seeing himself far greater than the others grew so proud, saying to God the Father he would be Lord of Heaven. So taking part with other angels in a rebellious way, God the Father seeing the archangel's pride, threw him and the rest out of Paradise into the infernal lake, there to suffer with those who follow their example. And as he who was the chiefest of all the angels suddenly became the worst, and the rest of the angels who were thrown with him, are now all became evil spirits, and so many, that they fill the air and Hell. Now Jesus Christ seeing the angels thus sin, and that the places in heaven were empty, said, " Let us make men according to our likeness, that they may fill up the places in Paradise which are empty of these evil spirits who are thrown into Hell." Then God made man.

Here he begins to relate the full scope of the Scripture, from the creation of Adam to the death of Christ ; which is known unto all. For brevity' sake I omit it.

When Joasaph understood how Christ came into the world, and how He suffered death to recover mankind, and how at the end of the world He shall judge the quick and the dead, he threw himself down at the feet of Barlaam, saying, "O Barlaam, I believe in my Lord Jesus Christ who is true God and man;" and he said moreover, "I will do whatsoever thou wilt command me, so I may be a servant of my Lord Christ."

When Barlaam saw Joasaph was converted, he took and embraced him in sign of joy, giving him his blessing, and then instructed him for eight days together, how he should live and keep from sin, and how to be chaste and pure from every vice, and to be pitiful to the poor.

Then Joasaph said "What life is best for me that I may be saved."

Barlaam answered, "Our Lord Christ lived poor, and died poor, teaching us how we should follow his example, and think on death, and how God will come to judge the world;" and he further said, "I would have you do as a certain king did. This King always thought on death, and how God will come to judge the world by fire, and how He will call upon the dead, to rise up and come to the general judgment.

"This king did so think on death, that he could never be merry. The which a brother of his, together with his lords, seeing, they would fain know the cause thereof and said:—

"'Sir, all your barons, lords and others of your court do much marvel at your Highness's sadness and why you are so troubled in your mind. You know you are a great prince, having all your realm in peace, and none of your subjects are disobedient to you, but all would die to do you service.



You have all the delights that may be, and if more could be purchased with their lives, you shall have them ; so that all wonder at your sadness.'

"The King then said, 'O my brother, do not marvel at this my great grief, because I always think on death, and how God will come to judge the world, and will give a sharp sentence upon the offenders, when that fearful trumpet shall sound, and God shall say 'Come all to judgment.' This, and only this, is the cause of my discontent.'

"Now when his brother heard him speak thus, he laughed, and made a scoff at his words ; so going from him, he told the nobles of all the King had said.

"When the King saw his brother did so slight him, he said to himself ; 'I will try whether he is so valiant as he seems.'

"It was a custom in that country, if any person committed an offence worthy of death that the king send two trumpeters to sound at his house, that all the people should know he was the party who must suffer. About eight days after this the King sent them to his brother's house where they sounded a whole day ; who hearing them, was greatly afraid that he must suffer death, and not knowing the cause, wept exceedingly. Then going to the king, he said, 'My Lord, why have you caused the trumpeters to sound at my door ? What have I done that I deserve death ?'

"The King seeing him so afraid, and trembling in that manner, took him by the hand, saying, "Dear brother, you know I love you well, and also know you have done no offence worthy of death ; yet have you so great a fear of these two trumpeters who sounded at your house, being but weak and

mortal men : think then what great fear I ought to have, when I consider that severe sentence which Christ shall pronounce upon all wicked and sinful men, when that great trumpet shall sound, and He will say, '*Go, you cursed into the eternal fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.*' And therefore, my brother, do not deride me if I am so sad of that sentence which God shall give at the Day of Judgment, when that fearful trumpet shall sound, and thou art so troubled at the two trumpeters who sounded at thy house."'

After the narration of his story Barlaam said to Joasaph, "I will tell you another tale of a King who did much reverence the poor, believing they would pray to God that he might escape that fearful sentence which will be given at the day of judgment.

"Once upon a time the King was riding towards the city. About the middle of the way he met with two hermits, poor but holy men, and servants of God. When he saw them, he lighted off his horse, kneeling at their feet, saying 'Pray to God that he will deliver me from that sentence which he shall pronounce at the latter day.' When he had so done, he mounted again, and returned to his palace.

"Then one of his lords, went to him, and said, 'Sir, you did yourself to day a great dishonour, as also to your crown and realm, when you dismounted off your horse, and kneeled at the feet of these poor men.'

"The King replied, 'One of these days I'll tell you the occasion thereof.'

"When sometime was past, the King caused four caskets to be brought, which he placed in his hall; two of them were new, painted and wrought with golden flowers, wherein was

nothing but dead men's bones ; the other two were old, loathsome and rotten, wherein were gold, silver, and precious stones. Afterward he called his courtiers together ; when they came he also sent for that lord who did so reprove him, saying unto him, ' Go take thy choice of those caskets.'

" The lord went and chose the new ones, which seemed fair, and richer than the others.

" The King said, ' Open the gold plated caskets, and see what's in them.' When he had opened them, he found nothing but rotten bones, at which the lord was much abashed.

" Then said the King, ' Open the others which seem so loathsome.' This being done, he found gold, silver, and precious stones. The lord seeing this, was much more ashamed.

" Then said the King, ' Knowest thou why I do this ? I did it because the other day thou reprovdst me when I reverenc'd those two hermits, which are like these two caskets, that is to say, these old and rotten ones being opened were full of treasure ; so do these hermits go ill clad, bare-footed, and do penance for the love of Christ, but within are full of love and holiness ; therefore marvel not if I honour them so much. And these caskets so fair without but within full of bones, demonstrate those who have honour and riches in this world ; but their consciences within are full of sins, pride and envy, and without are adorned with rich apparel, because they rejoice in this world, but in the eyes of God are worse than carrion.'

" Therefore" said Barlaam to Jehosaphat, " love the poor, and shew mercy to God's servants and do not forget that which I have told thee."

Joasaph answered—"Your words are good and apt, but this I want to know, Who is your master, who, you said at the beginning of your speech, had taught you about the seed?"

[Then follows a long description by Barlaam of the creation, the fall of man, the origin and progress of idolatry, the call of Abraham, the history of the Jews, the incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and the rise and growth of the Christian Church, too long to be repeated here].

When Joasaph heard these words, light entered his soul. He rose from his throne in joy, embraced Barlaam and said to him—"Perchance, this is that priceless jewel which, naturally, you shrouded in mystery, not showing it to every one who wishes, but to those who are strong in spiritual discernment. For, lo, as I received these words with my ear, light most pleasant entered into my heart, and that heavy cloud of grief that has overhung me so long was all at once dispersed. Tell me if I am right, and if you know anything better than what you have told me."

[Barlaam then tells him of the duty and privilege of admission into the Christian church by baptism, and the hope and certainty of a consciously happy eternal life with the Lord, following the glorious resurrection of the body—thus combating the Hindu and Buddhistic doctrine of Nirvana. He then refers to the folly of idolatry and gives the following old Indian story, never intended to be put to such a use.]

"Take heed" added Barlaam "that you be not guilty of idolatry. For idolaters are like a country man who was a bird-catcher and got a Nightingale, and when she saw herself taken, lamented greatly, and said, 'Friend, if thou wilt let me go, I'll teach thee three things that happy thou shalt be

to know ; besides great profit will arise, if thou attendest to them.'

"The countryman said, ' If thou wilt tell me I'll let thee free.'

"Then said the Nightingale, ' Mark, the first is this.—That thing which thou canst not have, go not about to seek it. The second is—That thing which thou hast, if thou makest it a trade or mystery, with much secrecy hold and keep it. The third is—That thing which cannot be, by no means believe in it.'

"When the bird-catcher heard all three, he was much pleased, and let the Nightingale go.

"Then flew she on to a high tree, and called to the rustic, saying, ' O simple fellow, in an ill time thou hast let me go ; for in my throat I have a stone which is far greater than a goose's egg, and is worth a mighty treasure.'

"When he heard her say so, it did much repent him ; and he went presently into the wood thinking again to take her.

"The Nightingale then said, ' Thou foolish fellow, hast thou so well kept in mind my instructions which I taught thee ?' 417/

"Then spake she again unto him, 'That thing which thou hast, and needs must use, be sure to hold it fast. That thing which thou canst not have, go not about to seek. You have had me, and knew not how to keep me, and now thou seekest to take me, but cannot get me. That thing which cannot be thou oughtest not to give credit to. Thou believest I have a stone so big as a goose's egg in my throat : Now how can I

have such a stone, since the egg is bigger than my body ?' Then said she, 'Get thee gone in a ill hour, and all bad luck go with thee ; from hence forward I'll give thee no more good counsel because thou canst not keep it.'

"Such is the folly of those who trust in idols. They form them with their hands, and worship what their fingers have made, saying—'Ye are our creators.' Yet how can they suppose that what they themselves have formed, created them ? They keep their idols in safety lest they should be carried off by thieves, yet they call their idols their protectors. And they never reflect what folly it is to suppose that if they are unable to take care of themselves, they can take care of others. 'For why,' saith he, '*do they resort to the dead on behalf of the living ?*'"

[Barlaam earnestly pleads with Joasaph to give up idolatry which he professes to be ready to do. He enquires as to the life he is expected to live after he is baptised and is instructed in Christian duties—love to God first and then love to all men. And also speaks highly of asceticism in a way which shows that Hinduism and Buddhism, especially the latter, had here influenced Barlaam's views of life].

Moreover Barlaam said, "The instructions which I have taught thee concerning our Lord Christ, know how to bear in mind, because they will profit thee very much. Now know, Joasaph, I'll return to my cell in the desert."

Joasaph said, "What life lead you there ?"

He answered, "Our life is such, that we eat raw herbs and wild roots ; our drink is water, the bare earth our bed, our apparel mean, made of camel's hair, which next our flesh we wear. All the day, and part of the night we spend in prayer,

bearing three things always in our mind. The first is our sins committed : For this cause we are sorry that we have offended so gracious a God. The second is, the pains of hell, which are so terrible and great. The third is, to wait for the glory of heaven, prepared for those who suffer here from their love to Christ. Those on the other hand, who ceaselessly yield themselves to the enjoyment of carnal pleasures and allow their soul to be consumed with hunger and to be weighed down by countless ills seem to me to be like a man fleeing from a mad unicorn ; and who, being terrified by its fierce bellowing, ran away at full speed lest it should devour him, and as he ran fell into a deep pit. He stretched out his hands while falling, and caught hold of a shrub, which he tightly grasped. He was able to place his feet upon a kind of step, and he thought that now he would be in peace and safety. But as he looked about he saw two mice, one white and the other black, gnawing away at the root of the shrub on which he hung, and he perceived that they had almost cut it in two. He looked down then to see how deep was the pit, and there he beheld a terrible dragon with fiery breath and fierce eyes gaping to devour him. Again he looked at the step upon which his feet rested, and there he saw the heads of four snakes protruding from the wall into which it was fastened. But as he looked up, he saw some honey dropping from the branches of a tree overhead. And forgetful altogether of the dangers that threatened him—though the mad unicorn was without, ready to devour him, and the terrible dragon beneath, longing to swallow him, though the root of the shrub from which he hung suspended was almost cut through, and his feet were resting on a slippery and most insecure step, nevertheless, utterly forgetful of these dangers, so many and so great—he foolishly became absorbed in the attempt to taste a little of the sweetness of that honey.

This is a type of those who are ensnared by the deceits of the life present ; and I shall explain the illustration to you.

“ The unicorn resembles death, which is always pursuing and endeavouring to overtake the sons of Adam ; the pit is the world which is full of manifold evils and of deadly snares ; the shrub whose root was perpetually being gnawed away by the two mice, is the course of the life of each individual, which is consumed by the hours of night and day, and gradually brought to an end ; the four serpents represent the combination in the human body of the *four fluctuating and impermanent elements*, by whose disarrangement and disturbance the constitution of the body is destroyed. Moreover, the fierce and fiery dragon resembles hell, which pants to receive those who prefer present delights to future blessings. And the drops of honey represent the sweetness of the world, whereby it deceives those who are its friends and hinders them from considering their own salvation.

“ But further, those who are enamoured of the pleasures of life and the delights which they afford, and who consequently prefer what is frail and fleeting to that which endures for ever, are like a man who had three friends, two of whom he highly honoured, and to whom he was so greatly attached that he would incur any danger and undergo any toil on their behalf. But the third he treated with great contempt, he neither conferred any favour upon him nor did he reciprocate his affection, but entertained towards him only a feeling of very slight and surface friendship. Now it happened one day that a band of fierce and violent soldiers came to sieze this man and to bring him with all haste before the king, because he owed a debt of ten thousand talents. In his distress, he sought some friend who would help him in the terrible account which he had to settle before the king.



“ He went first to the friend with whom he was most intimate, and said to him, ‘ You know, my friend, how I exposed my life on your behalf ; now I seek your aid in the time of my own sore trouble. How much will you lend me ? How much may I hope from you who are of all dearest to me.’ He answered him, ‘ Man, I am not a friend of yours ; I know not who you are. I have other friends with whom I must enjoy myself to-day ; hence forward they shall be my associates. Here are two rags which you may take for your journey, they will be of no use to you, but do not expect any thing else from me’.

“ When he heard those words he gave up all hope of help from him : and so he went to the second friend, and said to him, ‘ You know how I honoured you and helped you. To-day I am in trouble and misfortune, I pray you help me. Tell me therefore what may I expect from you ?’ He answered ‘ I have no leisure to-day to attend to you. I have troubles, and anxieties and difficulties of my own. I will go a little way with you, though that will do you no good, and then I shall return and devote myself to my own affairs.’ So he came back with empty hands, utterly at a loss what to do, bemoaning his vain hopes reposed in his careless and useless friends, who had made such a base return for his affection towards them.

“ He went off to the third friend, whom he had scarcely noticed, and whom he had never invited to participate in his pleasures, and he said to him with down cast face, ‘ I can scarcely bring myself to speak to you, because I know very well that you are conscious that I have never done a good turn to you nor treated you as a friend ; a terrible calamity has, however, befallen me ; my other friends have altogether disregarded my plea, and though I am ashamed to do it, I have come to see if you can give me some little help. Do not refuse me, nor remind me of my bad treatment of you.’

With a bright and happy face he answered, 'Nay, truly you are my greatest friend; whatever little kindness you have shown me I shall repay with interest. Do not be afraid nor anxious. I shall precede you, and entreat the king on your behalf; you shall not be delivered into the hands of your enemies. Be of good cheer, dearest friend, and grieve no more'. As he listened he burst into tears and cried, 'Alas! which shall I lament and bewail first my heartless ungrateful and false friends, or my own terrible neglect of you? You have proved yourself my true and real friend.'

"Now the first friend represents riches and the lust for lucre, for which men endure countless perils and anxieties; but when the hour of death comes, they receive in return only the worthless rags requisite for their funeral. The second friend resembles wife and children, and the rest of one's kinsfolk and intimates, to whom we are bound by a tie of affection so hard to sever, that for their sake we neglect our own soul and body; and not one of them is of any service to us in the hour of death; they merely follow our body to the tomb, and then they immediately return and busy themselves about their own concerns, forgetting us as soon as they have covered us in the grave. The third friend, despised and overlooked, whose presence was never sought, but who was avoided and kept at a distance, resembles good works such as faith, hope, love, bountifulness, kindness and the other virtues, which go before us when we leave our bodies, and entreat the Lord for us, so that we are delivered from our enemies and those terrible exactors who would bring an awful account against us, and seek to inflict on us a grievous penalty. This is the good and well disposed friend who bears in mind our few good acts and repays them with interest." Matthew 25, 31-46.

Joasaph expressed himself pleased, and asked an illustration of the vanity of the world, and how we may pass through it in peace and safety.

Barlaam replied, " I have heard of a great city where the custom prevailed of choosing a stranger, about whom the citizens knew nothing, and who was absolutely unacquainted with the laws and customs of the city, and appointing him king over them, granting him for the space of a year absolute and unlimited power. Then suddenly, when he thought himself quite secure, and was living in luxury and wantonness, supposing that his kingdom would last for ever, they rose up against him, rent off his royal robe and carried him in a triumphal procession, naked, through the city ; then banished him to a distant island, where, without food or clothes, he suffered terribly from hunger and exposure : the luxury and mirth he had so unexpectedly enjoyed, were once again changed into an equally unexpected grief and trouble. Now it happened that, in accordance with the custom of that state, there was a man appointed king who was exceedingly intelligent. He was neither carried away by his unlooked for prosperity, nor did he follow the example of those who went before him, and who had been so cruelly expelled, by living in thoughtless security ; but he was careful and anxious how best to provide for his own interests. He often thought over the matter, and he was informed by a very wise counsellor concerning the custom of the country and the place of perpetual exile, so that he might be on his guard against it. When he heard this and ascertained that soon he would be carried off there, and leave his kingdom to others, he opened his treasures, to which he still had free access, and he entrusted to some faithful servants a great quantity of silver and gold and precious stones, which they were to convey before hand to the island where he was to be exiled. When the appointed year was over, his citizens rose in rebellion ; they stripped him and banished him like those who had been before him. The other *quondam* kings were in terrible distress ; but he had stored up riches before hand, so that he lived in ease and luxury, having no fear of those lawless and wicked citizens, and he congratulated himself upon his happy plan".

Barlaam expounds the illustration, and Joasaph enquires how it is possible to send forward riches to the world to come, so that they may there be fully and fearlessly enjoyed. Barlaam answered :—" We send forward wealth by the hand of the poor. For one of the prophets, the wise Daniel, said to the King of Babylon, ' Wherefore let my counsel please thee, O King, make redemption for thy sins by almsgiving (*sic*), and for thy unrighteousness by showing pity to the poor'. And the Saviour says ' Make to yourselves friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye die, they may receive you into eternal habitations.' And up and down through the Gospels we learn that our Master spoke frequently of almsgiving and contributions to the poor."

Then Joasaph asked, "And is this life of self renunciation, with all the hardships it involves, an ancient tradition that has been handed down to you from the Apostles? Or is it only a new plan devised by yourselves, as the more excellent way?"

The old man answered—"It is no new law recently introduced that I inform you about, God forbid, but what we have received from old time. Our Lord once bade a rich man sell all that he had and give to the poor, and He said, ' Thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and take up the cross and follow Me.' Wherefore the saints, in all ages, mindful of His command, are careful to rid themselves of every difficulty of this kind; they give everything away, and by distributing to the poor (from love to their Lord) they store up wealth for themselves in heaven; they bear the cross, and follow Christ, some even by suffering martyrdom, and thereby, according to the teaching of our true philosophy, become in no sense inferior to the martyrs." Joasaph professed his desire to sever himself from the vanity of his previous life, and to spend the rest of his days with Barlaam, so that for the sake of what was temporal and impermanent, he might not forfeit what was eternal and incorruptible.

The old man said, "If you do this you will act like a wise youth I have heard of, who was born to rich and distinguished parents. His father arranged a marriage for him with the daughter of a friend who was noble born and very rich; the lady herself was exceedingly beautiful; but when his father told the youth what he had planned for him, he thought it so strange and distasteful that he ran away and left his father. He came in his flight to the house of a poor old man, where he desired to rest during the heat of the day. This man had one only daughter, a maiden; she was sitting just then at the door working with her hands, but with her voice she was singing praise to God from the depth of her heart. As he listened to her hymn, the youth said, 'What is this you are doing, lady? How can you who are so poor offer thanks for great gifts and praise the Giver of them?' She answered, 'Know you not that a small dose sometimes frees men from a terrible disease? In the same way thanking God for small mercies is a source of great blessing. I am indeed the daughter of a poor old man; but I thank God for what He has given me; knowing that He who has given me so much can give me greater things than these. Now with regard to the earthly gifts which we do not possess, those who have them derive no real benefit from them, nay, they sometimes do them harm; those who are without them suffer no real injury; if you take into consideration that journey which all have to take, and the end which awaits all persons alike. But with regard to what is most necessary and of real importance, gifts of this kind I have received in countless number from my Master. I have been created in the image of God; I have come to know Him; I have the gift of reason; I have been called from death to life through the mercy of God; I am privileged to partake of His Sacraments; the gate of Paradise is opened to me, if I will I can enter, no man forbidding me. These are gifts bestowed equally on poor and rich. I know not how to thank God for them. How should I excuse myself if I stopped singing His praise?'

The youth was much pleased with her intelligent words, and calling her father, he said to him, 'Give me thy daughter, for I am charmed with her good sense and piety.' But the old man said, 'You cannot take the daughter of a poor man, for you are well born.' 'But I shall take her,' the youth answered, 'unless you refuse her to me: for the daughter of wealthy parents was betrothed to me, but I rejected her and ran away. And now I love your daughter because of her piety towards God and her intelligence, and I wish to marry her.' The old man replied, 'I cannot give her to you to carry her off to your father's house, nor can I separate her from me, for she is my only child.' 'Then,' said the youth, 'I shall stay with you, and adopt your way of life.' So he put off his gorgeous apparel and put on clothes which the old man gave him. And after he had tried and tested him in many ways, so as to ascertain whether he was steadfast in his purpose, and not merely infatuated by his love for his daughter, but that from motives of piety he chose a life of poverty rather than his former pomp and glory, he caught him one day by the hand, brought him into an inner chamber, and he showed him a great store of wealth, such as the youth had never before seen, and he said to him, 'All these things do I give you; as you desire to be the husband of my daughter, the heir to my possessions.' When he received the inheritance he surpassed in riches all the great men of the earth."

Barlaam gave Joasaph some further instruction, and when he had thus spoken he taught him the Creed drawn up at the council of Nicæa, and he baptised him into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in the pond that was in his park. The grace of the Holy Ghost came upon him. Barlaam had led him back to his room, where he celebrated the rite of the Holy Supper, whereupon he rejoiced in spirit, and gave glory to Christ, his God.

Meanwhile his tutors and attendants began to remark the frequent visits of Barlaam to the prince, and one of them

named Zardan at length spoke to Joasaph, and told him that he was apprehensive as to the consequences when the King heard what was taking place. The prince then invited him to conceal himself behind a purdah in his room, so that he might hear what Barlaam said. Zardan adopted the suggestion and thus discovered to his dismay that Joasaph had embraced the Christian faith. He pleaded with the prince to reflect how his father would be affected when he heard the tidings. Joasaph besought him for the present to say nothing about it to the king.

Then Joasaph said to Barlaam—"O Holy father, I pray thee let me go to do penance with thee in the desert."

Barlaam said, "It is not yet time, my son."

Joasaph replied, "Then holy Father I pray thee accept a gift of money from me." But Barlaam refused. Then Joasaph said "Give me your hairy coat, and I will give you mine, that I may wear it next my skin, to the end I may always have you in my mind; and I desire you would put on my mantle, that you may have me in your thoughts, and pray to God I may make a happy end."

Then Barlaam said, "Your motion so far I like well." So he put off his hairy frock, and gave it to Joasaph. But he refused the mantle saying that it was unlawful for him to receive a new garment. He could, however, accept any rough rags which the prince could find for him, so both were pleased. Joasaph then entreated Barlaam to stay a little time longer with him, to the end he might still better instruct him concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, to which he willingly agreed. Now the tutor Lionone with the damsels seeing this merchant was day and night with Joasaph, it came into his mind to see what he did: wherefore presently repairing to his chamber, he heard Barlaam preach of Jesus Christ: Then, discover-

ing himself unto him he saw that he had made Joasaph a Christian, saying, "Sir, why have you thus deceived me? 'Tis death, you know, if I'll complain to your father, who has put me over you as a guide, that you should not talk with any man, but you have beguiled me, by saying he was a merchant, and I find him a seducer, who speaks idle words, whereby you are deceived, and has made you become a Christian, believing in a man, who was cruified, thus leaving the precepts of our ancient philosophers. How have you run into these errors, to give credit to this idiot? I would have you know, that, were it not for the duty I bear unto you, I would cause this fool, to be thrown headlong down into the palace yard."

Then said Joasaph "O Lionone, know this is a most holy man, whose name is Barlaam, though thou callest him fool. He is a servant of the living God, whose feet I am not worthy to kiss. For I was dead and he raised me to life; I was in darkness and he has enlightened me; I was in error and he has brought me into the right way. I worshipped idols, which are devils, believing they were true Gods; but I was in a false and pernicious opinion, and he has taught me to know Christ who is God and man, who created heaven and earth, and all the powers thereof." Lionone understanding the saying of Joasaph presently departed out of the palace, for fear of the king, and for grief that Joasaph was now become a Christian; then going to his house, he feigned himself sick, saying "For a month I'll not return, that when the king shall hear Joasaph is converted, I may excuse myself, and say, at this time I was absent; so by this means I shall escape the king's wrath."

Now Barlaam would return to the desert giving Joasaph his benediction after praying with him and for him. So embracing each other Joasaph said, "Pray to God I may



make a happy end, and that He may give me grace to come into the deserts to do penance with thee." So Barlaam departed and went to his cell.

Now let us return to Lionone. When he was come to his house, he told his wife he was very ill; so throwing himself upon his bed, he began to weep. Then straightway one of the damsels went to the king and said, "Sir, Lionone is taken sick, and like to die."

The king was troubled thereat, and sent three of his doctors to Lionone's house, to know what disease he had. Then the physicians went, and found him in bed, but not sick at all. So returning to the king, they said, "Sir, we have seen Lionone and find he is in bodily health; but our opinion is, he is vexed with much melancholy."

The king thought with himself, "Surely Lionone has had some difference with Joasaph my son, and for that cause he now keeps his bed; then calling one of the damsels, he said unto her, "Go presently to Lionone, and tell him, I will see him to-morrow, and will know what disease he has, because the doctors inform me he ails nothing."

So she went unto him, relating what the king had said.

No sooner had she spoken, and hearing the king would visit him, but presently he arose, putting on his apparel, and fastening a rope about his neck, went to the king, kneeling before him, and wept.

The king seeing his strange posture, how he came before him, marvelled greatly; so taking him by the hand, he raised him from the ground, and said, "Why art thou come thus, with a rope about thy neck?"

Lionone answered, " My Lord, because I deserve death ; for you gave me your son to keep, commanding that no man should see him, lest he should speak of Christ, all which, to my power, I did obey. But not long since came to the palace a man, who said he was a merchant, desiring much to see your son, saying he would give him a stone of a marvellous virtue, that he who has it should never die ; if he were blind, it would recover his sight ; if lame, he should be made straight, if leprous, he should be clean. Then the porter told Joasaph thereof ; and he desired much to see this stone, and commanded the man should forthwith come to him. Being before him, he took him by the hand, and led him into his chamber, where he remained ten days with him. This merchant was a Christian, whose name is Barlaam. He persuaded him to forsake our Gods and to believe in Jesus Christ, who as he said, was crucified of the Jews : and so by this means he is become a Christian."

When the king heard, it he was terribly distressed ; his grief was much increased, not knowing what to do ; then went he presently to Joasaph, and said unto him : " Is it true what I hear of you, that you give credit to a fool, who persuades you to leave our law, and become a Christian, believing in him who was crucified by the Jews ?"

Joasaph said, " I believe in my Lord Jesus Christ, who made the heaven and earth, and all the ornaments thereof." Then the king was much enraged, and taking him by the hair, threw him on the ground, kicking his body in that manner as if he would break his bones ; and after that he said, " If thou will not quickly leave thy opinion, and worship our gods, and forsake Barlaam, that mere impostor, thou shalt suffer an ignominious death."

Joasaph, nothing at all daunted, rose up and said, " My Father, now I see what your love is to me ; and not like a

father do you use me : For as children should be obedient to their parents, so the parents above all others should desire their good ; but that in me you debar, both in riches, health and honour, adhering to untruths, not discerning the right way, all which you do to me, not securing my good, but ill ; for I was blind, and full of errors, Barlaam has enlightened me, and taught me the truth ; I was poor, he taught me to gain heaven ; I walked the way of sinners, he instructed me in the way of life ; I worshipped idols and devils, thinking they were true gods, he has taught me to know my Redeemer Jesus Christ. Therefore, Sir, this your ill usage does much comfort me ; and I am willing to endure all torments of death for the love of my Saviour ; and, further, know I have no other desire than to suffer for Him who died for me, and satisfied God's wrath for the sins of his elect."

In this state of mind they separated.

Then came to the king a grave baron, whose name was Nardon, and said :—" Sir, if you please, I will talk with thy son myself ; and doubt not before three days are over, I'll make him leave the Christian faith, and turn again to our religion. Besides, he shall obey you in all things."

The king said—" I pray make haste, and do your best."

Then went he to Joasaph, saying into him ;—" O Joasaph, I much marvel of that which is spoken of thee ; thou art young, and wise, and thou art he on whom the people's hearts are fixed, whose hopes rest all on your fortune ; yet sufferest thou thyself to be deceived by a buffoon, called Barlaam, who has made you believe in a man who was crucified for the people."

At these words Joasaph was mute, and then went into his chamber, where kneeling on the earth he prayed that

Christ would put into his heart how to answer Nardon ; and also give him power to convert him to the faith. So when he had ended his prayers, he returned to Nardon, beginning to discuss with him, saying—How God made heaven and earth, how Lucifer sinned and how that God threw him into hell ; after, how he made man, how man also sinned in breaking God's commandments, and how Christ came into the world to recover man from sin which he had committed against God's law.

So spending the whole day in discussing religion, Nardon, by his talk, was at last converted. Confessing his way to be false and wicked, and Joasaph most holy and just, he said that till then he was in error and that for the future he would wholly dedicate himself to Christ and go into the desert there to do penance.

So he departed, and went to a priest by whom he was baptised, staying some time with him. Thereafter he led a solitary life.

When the king heard that Nardon was also converted, and how Joasaph had made him a Christian, he, much grieved, commanded all his barons to come before him, saying:—"My lords, counsel me what I should do with my son, for he has converted Nardon, and made him of his religion."

Then spake one, saying, "Sir, go to Joasaph yourself and show him all the favour you can, promising him great gifts, using him with all respect and kindness ; and doubt not but he will do whatsoever you command."

The King, then, thus advised, went unto him, and in a flattering way, said—"Joasaph, thou knowest there is none I greater love than thyself ; and that that day I see thee not,

my mind is much troubled. Thou art my chiefest jewel, and thou art he that must rule the kingdom after my death. Think, therefore, how much I love thee above anything, because I suffer so much for thy sake, taking no rest for thinking of thy good. Yet thou requitest me ill, refusing to do that which I would have thee do, and seeking thy own perdition and ruin. Therefore, my son, please me in this, it is a little thing I desire—to forsake your religion and believe in our gods. I see the danger which is coming against me; for when my cavaliers, barons, and lords shall hear thou art a Christian they will not only scorn thee, but rebel against me. Therefore, I pray thee, suffer not Barlaam, that silly wretch, to seduce thee into such errors, nor be thou a means for the loss of our kingdom.”

Upon this Joasaph replied and said:—My lord, I know you wish my good more than I can express, and your love to me cannot be denied, 'Tis true, you are my sovereign, and I am your son, and know no father ever loved a child like unto you. For all this I am much obliged to you; nor of myself can I merit the least of them, for you have nourished and brought me up with such care, that no father, I do think, ever did the like, therefore I ought to honour you above all things. But then command me what is reasonable without offence, and I will obey you; for in this world you take more delight than in that above where God is present. I am much grieved for your honour, into which I see you are inclined. Here you worship devils, thinking them true gods. Besides you live after carnal pleasures, where you should live after the spirit. Further know, in hell is a place prepared for all who know not Christ, who must burn with the devils, at which I am exceedingly grieved. Therefore, Sir, I pray, leave your way and turn to Jesus Christ, who is full of mercy and will pardon your sins, and at last bring you to His heavenly kingdom, which shall never end. You told me if your

barons, lords and cavaliers heard I was a Christian, they would rebel against you, and put you out of your kingdom and deprive me of my rights. For my part I am content. If I lose a kingdom here it is to gain eternal life; and if I lose your cavaliers here, it is to get a company of angels in heaven; and if I lose the treasures of this world, I shall enjoy those celestial treasures which never shall have end."

When the king saw the determination of his son, that nothing could dissuade him from being a Christian, he, much grieved, said :—"Now I see thou deservest death."

Then went he into his palace and sent for his barons and lords saying—"Give me counsel what I shall do with my son, who will not be drawn from his erroneous opinion."

Then Araches, one of the chiefest replied—"My lord be not grieved at the occurrence, for I assure you Joasaph will speedily renounce the Christian faith; hearken if you please, unto my advice: proclaim throughout your kingdom, whosoever shall bring Barlaam alive unto your presence shall have a hundred pounds reward. Besides, if by chance any other Christian is found, let him be brought also. And if Barlaam be taken, let Joasaph know of it, commanding him, as before he instructed your son into the Christian faith, so now he should persuade him again to worship our gods; and if Barlaam refuses to do it for love, you shall make him perforce do it by torment. But if this Barlaam cannot be found, then send for one of your eldest *Savii*, he whose name is Nachor. This man much resembles Barlaam. Then cause him to come before you and proclaim that all persons whatsoever, Christians as well as pagans, that will hear a disputation between your wise men and Barlaam concerning the pagan and the Christian religion, shall come securely to your court, without let or molestation; and that which shall be judged best we will

follow ; and that which is not right we will despise. So when the people are met, you shall propose this into Nachor, that he with all his power shall for a time defend the Christian religion, but in the end shall be overcome by them, and show that our religion is truer than the Christian's. Now when this disputation shall be, let Joasaph your son be there present ; and when Nachor seems to have the worst, let him behold Joasaph and say—" O my son, the Christian faith which I taught thee is false and wicked, but that of the pagans is just and holy. Therefore my son, let us leave the religion, in which I was deceived, and turn to the pagans, which is just and right. Now when your son beholdeth Nachor, he will verily believe that he is Barlaam, because he is so like to him. So by this means, he will continue no longer a Christian, but turn to our religion."

This counsel of Araches, the Savii, pleased the king well ; and he caused a proclamation to be made that if any man could find out Barlaam and bring him to the court, he should have a hundred pounds reward, and if, besides, they met in with any Christians, they also should be brought before the king.

Araches himself went off with a large band of horsemen to the land of Shinar in search of Barlaam. They traversed mountains and valleys difficult of access in their vain efforts. At length having ascended a height, Araches discerned a company of hermits walking along. He at once sent his men to lay hold on them. *'They came around them like dogs,'* and like wild beasts eager for the slaughter ; but when they brought them to Araches he perceived that Barlaam was not amongst them, for he knew his appearance. He enquired of them if they knew him and where he was. They told him they knew him well, as he was their brother and comrade, but what had become of him they could not tell.

Araches refused to believe them, and he cruelly tortured them in the endeavour to force them to speak. When he had failed in his attempt, he brought them before the king, who threatened them with death if they did not inform him where Barlaam was to be found. They fearlessly witnessed for the faith; and having refused to obey the king or to be influenced by his threats, he had them cruelly martyred.

Others went to find Barlaam, and as they travelled they saw two hermits, one of whom had a box of dead men's bones which he had always about him. These hermits were brought before the king who asked them what they were.

They answered—"Christians, living in the desert, doing penance; and these bones which we carry about us put us, whether eating or drinking, in mind of death, having them always before our eyes. Moreover these bones were once men, as we are now; and we shall all soon be so ourselves. When we look upon them, we learn to despise this transitory world."

Then the king caused them both to be imprisoned, saying he would do justice upon them himself.

Hearing that Barlaam could not be found, the king sent for Nachor, who was found in a cave practising divination. The king related to him what Barlaam had done, and how he had converted his son. "And I am informed," said he, "that thou art like him in all things. I have therefore sent for thee, intending to have a disputation about the Christian religion and our law; because Barlaam made Joasaph a Christian, and I would have him renounce that religion and turn again to ours. Now because thou dost resemble Barlaam very much, I would have thee disguise thyself and counterfeit Barlaam, and that thou for a time defend the Christian religion against the Savii; but at last be overcome by them.



Then turning thyself towards my son, thou shalt say—‘Joasaph I have been much deceived in the Christian religion, and now I find the Pagans much better’; and show the reason, saying—‘The Christian faith leads to perdition, but the faith of the Pagans leads to salvation.’ ”

Then Nachor said—“What your holiness commands shall be performed.”

So Nachor went off to his cave, and Araches started off once more on the pretence of looking for Barlaam; he saw an old man coming out of a ravine. He sent his attendants to seize him and when he was brought near to him he asked him who he was and what was his religion. Nachor answered that he was a Christian and that his name was Barlaam; for this was the plot that had been devised. Thereupon he carried him off to the king who told him that he might justly put him to death at once, but that in mercy he would allow him some time to make up his mind whether he would obey his orders or else die in cruel pain.

Meantime the news spread abroad that Barlaam had been arrested. When the prince heard of it he was terribly distressed, and with bitter tears he besought God to aid the aged man in his time of need. His prayer was heard, and a vision was vouchsafed to him which revealed the plot, so that when he awoke, his sorrow was turned to joy.

Two days after this the king went to Joasaph and said to him—“O, my son, Barlaam is now found, and come to dispute against our wise men concerning the Christian religion and Paganism; and that which is false we will disallow. Either you and your Barlaam shall persuade us, or else we shall win you over to obedience to my orders.” The prince guided by the heavenly vision, calmly but firmly answered

that come what might he could not deny his Lord; but in regard to the public disputation Joasaph added—"Sir, I am overjoyed, desiring you will let me hear the disputation, and see my master Barlaam." This was agreed to.

Then caused the king to be proclaimed that all persons whatsoever, Christians as well as Pagans, who would hear a disputation between Barlaam and the Savii concerning the principles of religion, might safely come to the court, without let or molestation, and not be questioned for anything.

The day being appointed, numbers of the Pagans came flocking thither, especially of the more learned classes but of the Christians, there was but one, named Barachias who came to help the supposed Barlaam; some of the latter were too old, others were hidden away in distant mountains and caves; and others again were too much afraid of the king to come. When the parties were assembled the king sent for Joasaph, whom he placed next to himself; and Nachor (the so-called Barlaam) was on the other side of Joasaph. A vast throng of idolators gathered together and consulted one with another against the prince and those who thought with him; and the proverb was fulfilled which speaks of a roe fighting with a lion. For *he* made the most high his refuge, and trusted in the shadow of His wings; *they* in the rulers of this world, and in the prince of darkness who had most grievously enslaved them.

Nachor was now brought out, he who was pretending that he was Barlaam. And then the king proclaimed to his orators and philosophers,—‘Here is a controversy set before you upon which most momentous issues depend, for either of two things shall happen. If you win victory for our religion and convict Barlaam and his associates of error, you shall be greatly honoured by us and by the whole assembly; and you shall be adorned with crowns of victory. But if you are worsted

you shall in shame be put to a terrible death ; your property shall be confiscated ; the memorial of you shall be taken from the earth ; your bodies shall be cast to wild beasts, and your children shall be condemned to perpetual slavery."

When the king had thus spoken, the prince arose and said 'O King you have judged justly and may the Lord confirm your purpose. Now I shall speak to my teacher. When Joasaph had attentively beheld Nachor, and taken for a long time a full view of him, he was doubtful what to think. Sometimes he thought it was not Barlaam ; at other times he thought it was he. Then whispering in his ear he said—"O, Barlaam, you know in what royal dignity you found me, and how for ten days together thou didst instruct me in my palace, how, under the influence of your teaching, I forsook the customs and traditions of my country, and thou madest me a Christian; and now thou art come hither to discuss the faith of Christ against the Savii. Therefore, since thou hast preached Christ, suffer not thyself to be overcome, neither by words nor by threatenings of the king. For in troth, if thou dost thou shalt surely die for it. Therefore stand firm and steadfast to your tenets ; otherwise in the conclusion, it will be ill with thee. If, however, you vanquish in the argument and convince our opponents that they are wrong, I shall think more of you than ever. I shall regard you as a herald of the truth and I shall remain true to the Christian faith till I die".

When Nachor (so-called Barlaam) heard these words, he was much dejected and said :—" I think the devil brought me here."

Then thought he within himself what he should do. "For should I suffer the Savii," thought he, "to have the better of the argument, Joasaph threatens to take away my life ; and if I suffer myself to be overcome, I shall ever here-

after be in disgrace with the king." Therefore, he concluded, "I will go the middle way, that is, to commend the Christian faith and the faith of the Pagans also." But the whole course of events was guided by the Providence of God.

Now as Nachor was disputing, the Spirit of God entered into him, and he spake higher points concerning Christ than ever before was heard, and talked in so lofty a style that he confuted all the Savii; so they had not a word to say. And, whereas he should have said that the Christian Faith was false and erroneous, on the contrary he said that Paganism was wicked and diabolical. He in fact opened his mouth, and, like Balaam's ass, spoke words such as his own heart never suggested.

"I, O king", said Nachor, "by the grace of God came into this world; and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and the sun, and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another; and I understood that He that moveth them is God, who is hidden in them and concealed from them; and this is well-known that that which moveth is more powerful than that which is moved. That I should investigate concerning this Mover of all, as to how He exists—for this is evident to me, for He is incomprehensible in His nature—and that I should dispute concerning the steadfastness of His government so as to comprehend it fully, is not profitable for me; for no one is able perfectly to comprehend it. But I say concerning the Mover of the world that He is God of all who made all for the sake of man; and it is evident to me that this is expedient, that one should fear God and not grieve man. Now I say that God is not begotten, not made, a constant nature, without beginning and without end; im-

mortal, complete and incomprehensible ; and in saying that He is complete I mean this—that there is no deficiency in Him, and He stands in need of nought, but every thing stands in need of Him. And in saying that he is without beginning I mean this—that every thing which has a beginning has also an end, and that which has an end is dissoluble. He has no name, for every thing which has a name is associated with the created. He has no likeness, nor composition of members, for he who possesses this is associated with things fashioned. He is not made nor is He male or female. The heavens do not contain Him ; but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him. Adversary He has none, for there is none that is more powerful than He. Anger and wrath He possesses not, for there is nothing that can stand against Him. Error and forgetfulness are not in His nature, for He is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in Him consists all that consists. He asks no sacrifice and no libation, nor any of the things that are visible ; He asks not anything from any one, but all ask from Him.”

Nachor having opened his address with these words, proceeded to divide the whole human family into three classes—the Indians or Hindus and all like them who worshipped nature in its various forms and gods many associated more or less with nature worship, including Greeks and Egyptians in the first class ; the second class would be the Jews ; and the third the Christians. The first class, he subdivided into three sub classes—the Hindus or Indians, the Greeks or Yavanas, and the Egyptians. Throughout his speech he was drawn towards the Christians. Near the beginning he referred to them in these words :—

“ The Christians reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the son of God Most High ; and it is said that God came down from heaven and from a

Hebrew virgin took and clad himself with flesh, and, in a daughter of man, there dwelt the Son of God. This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken amongst them as being preached ; wherein if ye will also read, ye will comprehend, the power that is upon it. This Jesus then was born of the tribe of the Hebrews, and He had twelve disciples in order that a certain dispensation of His might be fulfilled. He was pierced by the Jews and He died and was buried ; and they say that after three days He rose and ascended to heaven ; and then these twelve disciples went forth into the known parts of the world, and taught concerning His greatness with all humility and sobriety. And on this account these also who to-day believe in this preaching are called Christians, who are well known."

Nachor then went on to contrast his opinions as to the divine nature and the divine character with those of the wise men of the various races which he had named—Hindus, Greeks, Egyptians and Jews. He first discusses the views of those who regard the elements and the phenomena of nature as gods, beginning with the Vedic Hindus. "These Hindus," said he "inasmuch as they did not comprehend God, erred in regard to the elements. They began to serve created things instead of the Creator and on this account they made likenesses, and they enclosed them in temples ; and, lo ! they worship them and guard them with great precaution, that their gods may not be stolen by robbers ; and the old Indians have not understood that whatsoever watches must be greater than that which is watched ; and that whatsoever creates must be greater than that whatever is created ; if so be then that their gods were too weak for their own salvation, how will they furnish salvation to mankind ? The old Indians then have erred with a great error in worshipping dead images which profit them not. And it comes to me to wonder also, O king, at their philoso-

phers how they too have erred and have named gods those likenesses which have been made in honour of the elements ; and the wise men have not understood that these very elements are corruptible and dissoluble ; for if a little part of the element be dissolved or corrupted, all of it is dissolved and corrupted. If then these elements are dissolved and corrupted, and compelled to be subject to another harder than themselves, and are not in their nature gods, how can they call gods those likenesses which are made in their honour ? Great then is the error which their philosophers have brought upon their followers.

“ Let us turn then, O king, to the elements themselves, in order that we may shew concerning them that they also are not gods, but a creation corruptible and changeable, which is in the likeness of man. But God is incorruptible and unchangeable and invisible, while seeing, turning and changing all things.

“ Those, therefore, who think concerning *earth* [Prithivi] that it is God, have already erred, since it is digged and planted and delved ; and since it receives the defilement of the excrement of men and of beasts and of cattle : and since sometimes it becomes what is useless ; for if it be burned it becomes dead, for from baked clay there springs nothing : and again, if water be collected on it, it becomes corrupted along with its fruits and lo ! it is trodden on by men and beasts, and it receives the impurity of the blood of the slain : and it is digged, and filled with the dead, and becomes a repository for bodies ; none of which things can that holy and venerable and blessed and incorruptible Nature receive. And from this we perceive that the earth is not God, but a creature of God.

“ And in like manner again have those erred who have thought concerning *water* [Varuna] that it is God. For

water was created for the use of man, and in many ways it is made subject to him. For it is changed, and receives defilement, and is corrupted, and loses its own nature when cooked with many things, and receives colours which are not its own; being moreover hardened by the cold, and mixed and mingled with the excrement of men and beasts and with the blood of the slain; and it is compelled by workmen, by means of the compulsion of channels, to flow and be conducted against its own will, and to come into gardens and other places, so as to cleanse and carry out all the filth of men, and wash away all defilement, and supply man's need of itself. Wherefore it is impossible that water should be God, but it is a work of God, and a part of the world.

“So too those have erred not a little who thought concerning *fire* [Agni] that it is God: for it too was created for the need of men: and in many ways it is made subject to them, in the service of food and in the preparation of ornaments and other things of which your majesty is aware; whilst in many ways it is extinguished and destroyed.

“And again those who have thought concerning the blast of *winds* [Indra and the Maruts] that it is God, these also have erred: and this is evident to us, that these winds are subject to another, since sometimes their blast is increased and sometimes it is diminished and ceases, according to the commandment of Him who subjects them. Since for the sake of man they were created by God, in order that they might fulfil the needs of trees and fruits, and seeds, and that they might transport ships upon the sea; those ships which bring to men their necessary things, from a place where they are found to a place where they are not found; and furnish the different parts of the world. Since then this wind is sometimes increased and sometimes diminished, there is one place in which it does good and another where it does harm,



according to the nod of Him who rules it ; and even men are able by means of well-known instruments to catch and coerce it that it may fulfil for them the necessities which they demand of it ; and over itself it has no power at all ; wherefore it is not possible that winds should be called God, but a work of God.

“ So too those have erred who have thought concerning the sun [Surya or Savitur] that he is God. For lo ! we see him, that by the necessity of another he is moved and turned and runs his course ; and he proceeds from degree to degree, rising and setting every day, in order that he may warm the shoots of plants and shrubs, and may bring forth in the air which is mingled with him every herb which is on the earth. And in calculation the sun has a part with the rest of the stars in his course, and although he is one in his nature, he is mixed with many parts according to the advantage of the needs of man : and that not according to his own will, but according to the will of Him that ruleth him. Wherefore it is not possible that the sun should be God, but a work of God ; and in like manner also the moon and stars.

“ But those who have thought concerning *men of old*, [Siva, Rama, Krishna and Chaitanya] that some of them are gods, these have greatly erred: as thou, even thou, O king, art aware, that man consists of the four elements and of soul and spirit, and, therefore, is he even called World, and apart from any one of these parts he does not exist. He has beginning and end, and he is born and also suffers corruption. But God, as I have said, has none of this in His nature, but He is unmade and incorruptible. On this account, then, it is impossible that we should represent him as God who is man by nature, one to whom sometimes, when he looketh for joy, grief happens ; and for laughter, and weeping befalls him ; one that is passionate and jealous, envious and regretful, along with the

rest of the other defects : and in many ways more corrupted than the elements or even than the beasts.

“The Greeks then, because they are wiser than they whom they call Barbarians, have erred even more than the so called Barbarians, in that they have introduced many gods that are made ; and some of them they have represented as male and some of them as female ; and in such a way that some of their gods were found to be adulterers and murderers, and jealous and envious, and angry and passionate, and murderers of fathers, and thieves and plunderers. And they say that some of them were lame and maimed ; and some of them wizards, and some of them utterly mad ; and some of them played on harps ; and some of them wandered on mountains ; and some of them died outright ! and some were struck by lightning, and some were made subject to men, and some went off in flight, and some were stolen by men ; and lo ! some of them were wept and bewailed by men : and some, they say, went down to Hades ; and some were sorely wounded, and some were changed into the likeness of beasts in order that they might commit adultery with the race of mortal women.

“The Greeks, then, O king, have brought forward what is wicked, ridiculous and and foolish concerning their gods and themselves ; in that they called such like persons gods, who are no gods : and hence men have taken occasion to commit adultery and fornication, and to plunder and do everything that is wicked and hateful and abominable. For if those who are called their gods have done all those things that are written above, how much more shall men do them who believe in those who have done these things ! And from the wickedness of this error, lo ! there have happened to men frequent wars and mighty famines, and bitter captivity and deprivation of all things : and lo ! they endure them, and

all these things befall them from this cause alone : and when they endure them they do not perceive in their conscience that because of their error these things happen to them.

“Now because the Egyptians are more ignorant than the rest of the people, these and the like gods did not suffice them, but they also put the name of gods on the beasts which are merely soulless, For some men among them worship the sheep, and others the calf; and some of them the pig, and others the shad-fish; and some of them the crocodile, and the hawk, and the cormorant, and the kite, and the vulture, and the eagle, and the crow; some of them worship the cat, and others the fish Shibbuta; some of them the dog, and some of them the serpent, and some the asp, and others the lion, and others garlic, and onions, and thorns, and others the leopard, and the like.

“And accordingly the Egyptians have not understood that the like of these are not gods, since their salvation is not within their own power; and if they are too weak for their own salvation, then as regards the salvation of their worshippers, pray whence will they have the power to help them?

“The Egyptians then have erred with a great error, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. But it is a matter of wonder, O king, concerning the Greeks, whereas they excel all the rest of the people in their manners and in their reason, how thus they have gone astray after dead idols and senseless images : while they see their gods sawn and polished by their makers, and curtailed and cut and burnt and shaped and transformed into every shape by them. And when they are grown old and fail by the length of time, and are melted and broken in pieces, how is it that they do not understand concerning them that they are not God? And those who have not ability for their own preservation, how will they be

able to take care of men? But even the poets and philosophers among them being in error have introduced concerning them that they are gods, things like these which are made for the honour of God Almighty; and being in error they seek to make them like God as to whom no man has ever seen to whom He is like; nor is he able to see Him; and together with these things they introduce concerning Deity as if it were that deficiency were found with it; in that they say that He accepts sacrifice, and asks for burnt-offering, and libation, and murders of men, and temples. But God is not needy, and none of these things is sought for by Him: and it is clear that men are in error in those things that they imagine. But their poets and philosophers introduce and say, that the nature of all their gods is one; but they have not understood of God the Lord, that while He is one, He is yet in all. They then are in error; for if, while the body of man is many in its parts, no member is afraid of its fellow, but whilst it is a composite body, all is on an equality with all: so also God who is one in His nature has a single essence proper to Him, and He is equal in His nature and His essence, nor is He afraid of Himself. If, therefore, the nature of the gods is one, it is not proper that a god should persecute a god, nor kill nor do him that which is evil.

“If then gods were persecuted and transfixed by gods, and some of them were carried off and some were struck by lightning; it is clear that the nature of their gods is not one, and hence it is clear, O king, that that is an error when they speculate about the nature of their gods, and that they reduce them to one nature. If then it is proper that we should admire a god who is visible and does not see, how much more is this worthy of admiration that a man should believe in a nature which is invisible and all-seeing! And if again it is right that a man should investigate the works of an artificer, how much more is it right that he should praise the Maker

of the artificer ! For, behold ! while the Greeks have established laws, they have not understood that by their laws they were condemning their gods ; for if their laws are just, their gods are unjust, who have committed transgression in killing one another and practising sorcery, committing adultery, plundering, stealing and sleeping with males, along with the rest of their other doings. But if their gods excellently and as they describe have done all these things, then the laws of the Greeks are unjust ; and they are not laid down according to the will of the gods ; and in this the whole world has erred. For as for the histories of their gods, some of them are myths, some of them physical, and some hymns and songs : the hymns and songs are empty words and sound, flimsy words, altogether devoid of force, and not God.

“ Now the Christians, O king, by going about and seeking have found the truth, and as we have comprehended from their writings they are nearer to the truth and to exact knowledge than the rest of the people. For they know and believe in God, the Maker of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things ; He who has no other god as His fellow : from whom they have received those commandments which they have engraved on their minds, which they keep in the hope and expectation of the world to come ; so that on this account they do not commit adultery nor fornication, they do not bear false witness, they do not deny a deposit, nor covet what is not theirs ; they honour father and mother ; they do good to those who are their neighbours, and when they are judges they judge uprightly ; and they do not worship idols in the form of man, and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards any one ; and they do not eat of the meats of idol sacrifices, for they are undefiled : and those who grieve them they comfort, and make them their friends ; and they do good to their enemies ; and their wives,

O king, are pure as virgins, and their daughters modest : and their men abstain from all unlawful wedlock and from all impurity, in the hope of the recompense that is to come in another world : but as for their servants or handmaids, or their children if any of them have any, they persuade them to become Christians for the love that they have towards them ; and when they have become so, they call them without distinction brethren : they do not worship strange gods : and they walk in all humility and kindness, and falsehood is not found among them, and they love one another : and from the widows they do not turn away their countenance : and they rescue the orphan from him who does him violence : and he who has gives to him who has not, without grudging ; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as over a true brother ; for they do not call brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit and in God : but when one of their poor passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability ; and if they hear that any of their number is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah, all of them provide for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered, they deliver him.

“ And if there is among them a man that is poor or needy, and they have not an abundance of necessities, they fast two or three days that they may supply the needy with their necessary food. And they observe scrupulously the commandments of their Messiah : they live honestly and soberly, as the Lord their God commanded them : every morning and at all hours on account of the goodnesses of God toward them they praise and laud Him ; and over their food and over their drink they render Him thanks. And if any righteous person of their number passes away from the world they rejoice and give thanks to God, and they follow his body, as if he were moving from one place to another : and when a

child is born to any one of them, they praise God, and if again it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And if again they see that one of their number has died in his iniquity or in his sins, over this one they weep bitterly, and sigh, as over one who is about to go to punishment: such is the ordinance of the law of the Christians, O king, and such their conduct.

“As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive: and thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodnesses of God towards them, lo! on account of them there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number of those that have found the truth by going about and seeking it, and as far as we have comprehended, we have understood that they only are near to the knowledge of the truth.

“But their sayings and their ordinances, O king, and the glory of their service, and the expectation of their recompense of reward, according to the doing of each one of them, which they expect in another world, thou art able to know from their writings. It sufficeth for us that we have briefly made known to your Majesty concerning the conversation and the truth of the Christians. For truly great and wonderful is their teaching to him that is willing to examine and understand it. And truly this people is a new people, and there is something divine mingled with it. Take now their writings and read in them, and lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought those things forward, nor as their advocate have I said them, but as I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come. And therefore I was constrained to set forth the truth to them that take pleasure therein and seek after the world to come.

“The Christians are honest and pious, and the truth is set before their eyes, and they are long suffering; and therefore while they know their error and are buffeted by them, they endure and suffer them: and more exceedingly do they pity them as men who are destitute of knowledge; and in their behalf they offer up prayers that they may turn from their error. And when it chances that one of them turns, he is ashamed before the Christians of the deeds that were done by him: and he confesses to God, saying, ‘In ignorance I did these things’: and he cleanses his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he did them in ignorance in former times, when he was blaspheming and reviling the true knowledge of the Christians. And truly blessed is the race of the Christians, more than all men that are upon the face of the earth.

“Let the tongues of those now be silenced who talk vanity, and who oppress the Christians, and let them now speak the truth. For it is better that they should worship the true God rather than that they should worship a sound without intelligence; and truly divine is that which is spoken by the mouth of the Christians, and their teaching is the gateway of light. Let all those then approach thereunto who do not know God, and let them receive incorruptible words, those which are so always and from eternity: let them, therefore, anticipate the dread judgment which is to come by Jesus the Messiah upon the whole race of men.”

When the king saw that Nachor had so disputed, as to have confuted the Savii, and that he himself was also become a Christian, he was terribly incensed at his words, and his grief was very great, and he thought it a thousand years till the disputation was ended, so he thought to put him to death; but he was powerless, for by his own proclamation he had given liberty to the Christians to speak freely. He tried by signs to convey to him that he must take the other side, but he



only became still more eloquent ; and, finally, as it was now evening, the discussion was adjourned until the following day.

As the Assembly broke up, the prince requested that his teacher might be allowed to remain with him that night and then the king consented, Joasaph brought Nachor to his palace, promising to bring him next morning to the king. Joasaph and Nachor (called Barlaam) went to the palace where the latter related all the doings of the king, and how he had plotted against the Christians, and that he himself was no Christian, or Barlaam either, but Nachor ; and that all he had said of Jesus Christ and the Christian faith, he spoke by the Holy Spirit. "So", said he, "there is no contesting against the truth, being assured that the Christian religion is the best, which ever hereafter I do mean to follow, and I will both live and die in it."

Joasaph told him that he knew well that he was not Barlaam, but Nachor, the astrologer. He reminded him of what he had involuntarily uttered that day, and he spent the night urging him to forsake his astrology and idolatry and to embrace the faith of Christ. All this Nachor promised. He besides promised that he would see the king's face no more, and early in the morning he left the palace, and journeyed until he found the secret abode of one of the hermits, by whom he was baptised.

The next morning the king sent for Nachor, but it was told him that he had become a Christian, and that he was gone to do penance in the desert.

Upon this report the king was exceeding wroth, hearing he was converted ; and with all speed went to Joasaph, saying—"I would have you follow my counsel, to forsake the

Christian faith and observe the Pagan Law; if thou refuse to do this, thou shalt suffer most cruel torments."

Joasaph, nothing dismayed, replied—"Know, Sir, I will not forsake my Lord Christ for all the torments you can inflict upon me."

The king then said—"Get thee gone in an ill hour; cursed be thou, and cursed thou art of me, and cursed be the day and hour of thy birth, that thou wert not stifled in the womb. It was told and also prophesied that thou wouldst be a rebel and a great grief unto me; but I promise thee ere long that thou shalt suffer an ignominious death."

So he went from him, commanding the guard not to permit any to go near him. Then, in great fury, he sent for the hermits, and gave sentence against them to be dragged alive through the city and three times round about Joasaph's palace, that the sight of them might the more terrify him. But Joasaph, when he saw the cruelty of his father, wept, and, kneeling on the earth, prayed that he too might be a martyr, as those two hermits were, to the end that he might obtain eternal life. The king also cruelly tortured the philosophers who had been defeated in the argument; and now he began to recognize how weak those gods must be whom he had hitherto worshipped, though as yet he would not open his eyes to receive light from Christ.

For some time after these events the prince was allowed to live at peace in his palace. But then it came to pass that a great festival in honour of idols was about to be held in the city. The priests perceived that the king had grown cold in his attachment to his religion, and they feared that he would not come to the feast, and that they would lose his customary gifts. They went off therefore to a very clever

man named Theudas, who was a zealous idolater, and they asked him to interfere on their behalf. Theudas presented himself before the king, and when he had told him how all his plans to win back his son had failed, Theudas counselled him to remove the present attendants of the prince and to substitute very beautiful women in their stead to allure him through the lusts of the flesh. In support of all this Theudas said—"Sir, it is not fit a father should be the author of his son's death. For not only the people but your own conscience will exceedingly check you ; therefore, take my counsel, and your son shall be of our religion."

The king said—"To what you advise me I will agree."

Then said he—"Let fifteen young virgins be found out, the fairest in all your realm, none exceeding sixteen years old. Cause all these to be put into his palace, and no other person whatever. Bid them use all the delights and pleasures that can be imagined, promising that that maid who can entice him to carnal delight shall be given to him in marriage. And I, by my art and incantations will cause the Devil to kindle both heat and lust in him. Now when he will feel the pleasures they will give him, he will then leave the Christian religion and turn to ours. Of this I will give an example.

"There was a king, as you yourself are now, who for a long time had no son. At last his Queen conceived and brought him one. When he was born he called the magi and said I would know what fortune the Prince shall have. His Savii told him that they found that if he saw the sun till fifteen years were past, he should be blind. Upon this the king caused a chamber to be made underground, adorned with beautiful pillars, but no windows. In this he was kept till the fifteen years were expired. Afterwards he came forth and was shown divers things, such as jewels, cabinets, rich

hangings, women, fowls, &c. When he had viewed the women he asked what they were called. A lady merrily answered—‘We are called Devils’. This passed for a time. Then he was shown other rare things; and when he had taken his full sight, his father called him and said—‘My son, which of these things which thou hast seen dost please thee best’? He answered—‘Those that are called devils’.”

When Joasaph’s father heard this story, it pleased him well. So he caused fifteen virgins, the choicest of his kingdom, to be put into the palace. Speaking privately unto them, he said—“If it be possible entice my son to carnal pleasure; and she who can do it shall have him for her husband.”

They all said—“We will use our best endeavours.”

So the king departed from them, causing the palace to be locked up.

Joasaph seeing this and finding none but those fair maids, he began exceedingly to sigh, and was sore afraid lest he should by them be tempted to some sin. Then getting into a corner of his chamber, and kneeling on the earth he prayed—“O Lord Christ, who defendest those who call upon thee for help, keep me from these. I have no power of myself to resist these temptations, unless by thy gracious goodness thou keep me from them. I am near unto death, forsaken of my father, despised of the world, tempted of the devil. All the faculties of my restless soul are full of fear and terror. Therefore I pray thee be now my helper, and keep my purity from these wicked tempters.”

Now the magician begins to conjure and kindle heat and lust within him, so that if possible he should consent to those delightful uncleannesses, the devils tempting him the maids enticing him, and all to work his utter perdition.

In this perplexity three days were spent and on the fourth the king sent to know whether he had yielded to their temptations. They answered—"No".

He demanded from the magician an explanation. He replied that he could give none. "But," he added, "I will go and conjure more forcibly." Then he raised up devils and said to them—"I marvel that you cannot make that boy Joasaph take carnal delight with one or other of these maidens. Go, therefore, and use the uttermost of your power. Otherwise I will torment you all much more."

Then one of the devils more crafty than the rest put it in the heart of that maid whom Joasaph loved best and who was indeed most beautiful and intelligent,—a king's daughter carried captive from her own country, a gift to king Abener—to reason with him thus: "Thou art young, so am I; thou art chaste and pure, so am I: thou art a Christian, and I a Pagan. Therefore thou mayst convert me to be a Christian and gain a soul to Jesus Christ. If thou wilt consent and take delight in me to be thy wife, that so we may use matrimony without sinning. Dost thou not see how comely I am? Take therefore pleasure in my person, that we may have children to be friends of God. Thou knowest God hath ordained holy matrimony *as honourable in all, and the bed undefiled*; and *it is better to marry than to burn*; and Saint Peter had both a wife and children. So by this means, we shall have seats in heaven. Thou also knowest that when one sinner turns to God by repentance, the Angels in heaven rejoice at his conversion."

When Joasaph had heard this wise speech of the maid, how she would become a Christian, and that matrimony was holy, and that a soul would thus be gained to God, and being also provoked by the devils to temptations, and seeing

the beauty of this young virgin,—thought to consent to her desire. But suddenly heard a voice which said—"Jehosaphat, forbear."

Kneeling on the earth, he prayed, and fell into a trance and saw the glory of heaven and its Creator, the order of angels, the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, with a great number of martyrs and virgins, singing "These are those that keep themselves undefiled". There upon he saw a company of men and women, so beautiful and fair, that he could not be satisfied with beholding them and asked who they were.

He was told—"Men and women who kept themselves undefiled for God's sake, and have not given themselves to carnal pleasure, but strove against the world and the flesh. If thou, therefore, preserve thy purity for God, thou shalt be placed among these."

Then he was shown hell, and saw Lucifer and all the devils, how they tormented sinners and heard great shrieks and groans, with howlings of men, so that he wept and was sore afraid. Then he was told that having seen those painful sights, he should not sin but keep his purity, and be merciful to the poor, so he would have the glory which he had seen in the highest heaven. But if he acted otherwise, pursuing the pleasures of this world and the carnal delights thereof, he would be thrown into that gulf, there to burn with the devils for ever, and never find ease or rest.

When Joasaph awakened he wept bitterly, thinking of the torments which the damned do suffer; and because of the fear from which he suffered, he remained so weak and infirm that he could not rise. The beauty of the shameless maiden had now no attraction for him. Thence forward all evil temp-

tations fled from him, and never after did he give way unto them, so weak was he that he lay upon his bed unable to move.

The maid seeing Joasaph so weak, sent presently to acquaint the king thereof. The king thereupon came to the palace, and seeing him in bed said—"O Joasaph, tell me what is the cause of thy distemper".

Joasaph answered—"Sir, you have a desire now to see me; and by all that lies in you you have endeavoured my destruction. For if by your means, I had lost my purity then by your means I had utterly perished. But my Saviour took pity on me, and showed me the joys of heaven and the pains of hell, keeping me from these temptations. After I came to myself, I am now so weak because of the fear I endured, that I can find no rest or ease except when I think of those celestial joys which I saw in heaven. Therefore, Sir, forsake thou the errors in which you now live, and give no more credit to your idols and devils, which will bring you to hell, there to be tormented with sinners. But turn to Jesus Christ who will pardon you your offences, and free you from the infernal pains, giving you eternal life which shall never end."

When the king heard these words, he laughed exceedingly, and went immediately away, wondering at Joasaph's power in resisting the women. He was at the same time exceedingly grieved, as it seemed as if all his efforts had failed; but he determined not to give up until he had made another attempt. Accordingly he summoned Theudas once more to his presence and enquired of him if he could suggest any further expedient. Theudas requested that he might be allowed to have an interview with the prince. The king gave his consent, and in the morning they both went to visit him. Theudas vehemently reproached him for abandoning the

worship of idols. But the prince replied to his statements by exposing the senseless folly of idolatry, and in contrast with such superstition he set the pure faith of the gospel of Christ. Theudas while he listened was smitten, as it were, by a thunderbolt ; he remained silent for a while then turning to the king he cried, "Truly, O King, the Spirit of God dwells in thy son ; we are overcome and left powerless to defend our position ; we cannot shut our eyes to the force of his statements. Great is the God of the Christians ; great their faith ; great their mysteries."

He then asked the prince whether God would receive him in spite of all his evil deeds ; and when he had assured him that he would receive the welcome promised to every repentant sinner, he went out of the palace to his cave, where he burned all that pertained to his magical arts. He then sought out Nachor, from whom he received further instruction, and after some time was baptised.

So going to his palace, the king sent for his Savii, saying—"Counsel me what course I shall now take with my son. Shall I put him to death, or keep him in prison ?"

Then one of them said—"Sir, it will be a great shame, and grief unto you to think on such a course. You are old and have no other son, and after your death he is king and patron of all your realm. Therefore, in my opinion, I think it best that you should set him free, and like a prince allow him cavaliers and attendants with the fourth part of your kingdom, that when he sees the greatness and honour given by his subjects, he will quite forget the Christian faith and turn to our religion."

The king was much pleased with his counsel, and went himself to Joasaph and said "My son, thou shalt now have



thy liberty. Besides, I will give thee the fourth part of my kingdom, and some of my cavaliers for thy servants, because I love thee dearly."

Joasaph was overjoyed at these words and thanked the king for his great care of him. Then were sent to him horses and horsemen with a numerous body-guard, who attended him to a city in the province of Bengalia, called Uria, and he gave him besides four of the wisest of the royal counsellors. On arriving in Bengalia, all the people came to see him, because he was so comely a person.

Being now settled in his Seigniory, he caused the treasure, which his father had sent for his use, to be brought unto him, and then sent for the chief men of the province, requesting them to make lists of such men and women as were poor and needy. That having been done, he distributed the said treasure among them in all the cities of the province.

His fame became so great and widespread that the hearts of the people were settled on him.

He then sent for fifteen barons, the chief of his realm. When they were come he told them of Jesus Christ, and preached to them so earnestly the Gospel, the infinite condescension of God the Word, the wonder of His incarnation, His suffering on the cross whereby we are saved, His ascension to Heaven, and His return to judge the quick and the dead, so that some of them were converted to the faith.

He then caused Christian Churches to be built; and he destroyed the idols and temples of the false gods which belonged to him. He made a baptistery, and in it a great multitude were baptised, rulers and civil officers, soldiers and people.

The report of these things soon reached his father, how most of the province was converted by him, how he ministered to the poor, visited the prisoners, those condemned to the mines and the debt prisoners, and that such Christians as were by reason of the cruelty of the king hiding in caves and dens came out into him, and how he befriended the widow and the orphan and all who were in distress.

The king hearing all this was so greatly grieved that he sent for his Savii, saying—"Tell me what course I shall now take, for my son has converted the province of Bengalia, destroyed our idols and ruined our temples. What think you now, shall I put him and his followers to death?"

Then rose up a grave Baron, and said—"It is a vile and base thing to strive against the truth. If you do it against your son, you kick against the faith, for he hath preached Jesus Christ, the true God. I, therefore, confess myself a Christian, believing in him who died for me." So he departed from the king and went to Joasaph.

When the king saw the chief of his Savii was a Christian, he trembled from fear and said—"O wicked perverse boy! Cursed be the hour in which you were born."

Yet in spite of all this Joasaph's fame was so spread abroad because of his upright life, that other nations likewise became Christian. Besides Joasaph's father had one province which had been in a state of revolt for ten years. This province hearing of the purity and just life of Joasaph resigned the whole Seigniory to him.

Now when he had spent three years in the Government, all the countries his Father possessed were likewise converted.

This news being brought to the king, and hearing also the miracles which he did, he thought with himself; "And why should I be stupid, seeing all my Savii whom I sent to him are by him converted, and myself so obstinate in my opinion? I cannot therefore but believe that this religion is the truest, and all this while I have been in an error. Besides, hearing of the daily prayers which he pours out for me doth much enlighten my understanding towards my conversion, and therefore I am resolved to become a Christian."

These thoughts much humbled the king and he began greatly to repent sending for his Barons and Savii, saying: "My Lords, the cause I sent for you is to let you know the erroneous way I have a long time walked in, having persecuted the truth (which is the Christian faith) and followed our wicked and diabolical way in worshipping of idols; but being now better enlightened, and persuaded the Christian religion is the best, and that it is only by this that we must be saved, I am heartily sorry I have so spurned against it, and in such a manner, that I am not worthy to breathe: therefore I am resolved to go into Gallia and throw down myself at Joasaph's feet, beseeching him to pray for me that God would pardon my great rebellion."

He then took horse and went towards Bengalia. On Joasaph's hearing of his coming, he with many of his nobles went to meet him on the way. On meeting his father, he alighted and knelt before him. The king seeing this, dismounted off his horse, and casting himself at his feet said—"Till this day, O my son, I have gone astray, worshipping idols and devils believing they were gods, and persecuting Christians. Now I pray thee pardon me for all this and beseech Christ Jesus to forgive my great offenses, as I am not worthy to lift up my eyes to heaven. And now, Joasaph, I am not only come, but also most willing to become a Christian."

When Joasaph saw his father's repentance, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and praised God for his conversion.

So they rode towards the city with great joy and mirth, where they remained thirty days.

The king then journeyed towards India, together with Joasaph and his barons. Being arrived, the people came to see him, because of his great fame. Then Joasaph took his father's treasure and distributed it among the needy. Afterwards he instructed the Indians and brought them to the faith. He then destroyed the temples and idols and built churches and hospitals to the honour of God.

After Abenner, the king, had lived three years as a Christian, he died, and by will gave great immunities to the poor.

Then caused Joasaph a hair vest to be made, which he commanded to be put on the king; and he gathered the nobility and chief officers together. The corpse was borne into a spacious court where were assembled a multitude of people. These Joasaph addressed, saying—"My Lords, and you my loving subjects, know how vile and base we are in this world. You see an object here. This king who was so powerful and so great, having so many cities, castles, and seignories, persecuting for a long time the poor Christians, to what is he now come. Now, he is earth, and shall be persecuted of the worms and turn unto dust. Where is now his command? he who had so many possessions, and said to his barons—'Come now and help me.' Where is his wealth and treasure gone, his jewels and costly apparel? Behold him now, clad in hair cloth. You now see his condition. When he lived, all who enjoyed his favour were happy; now being dead, not a kinsman will be buried with him. Therefore, none ought to love this world, because the things thereof are transitory. Think always

of Death, and how you must give an account to God for your sins. Therefore I pray you to leave off your wicked ways and turn unto Jesus Christ." For seven days Joasaph performed religious duties at the tomb; on the eighth day he distributed treasure among the poor.

After his father was buried Joasaph remained one year in his seigniorship, having the people assembled together and instructed in the faith.

He there after summoned a great assembly of nobles, soldiers and people, and told them he would do penance in the desert; that he had formerly intended to embrace the ascetic life, but that in compliance with his father's wish he had postponed it; but that now he would leave his kingdom to a lord whose life was blameless, and to him he would give his crown; and that he himself would go as he had vowed.

The people at these words were much grieved, because he said he would depart from them. Then he sent for a baron whose name was Barachias, who stood by Nachor, when he feigned to be Barlaam, saying unto him—"I am confident of thy fidelity and trustfulness, having had experience a long time of it, and to thy care I am resolved to yield up my kingdom and territories. Therefore be well advised how you govern my subjects. I have chosen you only for this purpose".

Barachias absolutely refused to take the kingdom, saying that if it was a good thing he ought to retain it himself; but that if it was a hindrance to his spiritual life, he had no right to thrust it upon him. The king saw that it was useless then to press the matter further, and said nothing more. He however spent the night writing a letter to the people, full of wise counsel as to the life he would have them live, and stating that no one but Barachias should succeed to the throne. He

left the letter in his bed chamber, and in the morning he went forth unknown to all.

When it was day the news spread, and the whole city went forth to search everywhere for him. At length, they found him in the bed of a torrent, lifting up his hands to heaven, and saying the prayer appointed for the sixth hour. Once more they entreated him to return. But he took Barachias by the hand, and turning towards the east, he prayed for him and presented him to the people as their king. He urged him to govern well in accordance with God's laws, and amidst bitter tears on their part, he bade them farewell.

So far Barachias was made king ; but the people did not acquiesce, and were much grieved because Joasaph resolved to leave them ; and they addressed him, saying—" Why will you go from us ?"

Joasaph answered—" I leave with you a good shepherd ; and know that my soul is dearer to me than all this world's riches."

So he returned again to his palace. But on the night being far spent, after his first sleep, he rose and travelled towards the desert.

Now when the people heard he was gone, they went after him and brought him back a second time to the city with great joy, setting him again in his kingdom. He had not long been there, when he summoned the people once more and said—" My lords and you my worthy friends, I now see how great your love and your affections are towards me. For this I am ever much obliged to you and would lose my life to do you good. But when I think how dangerous it is for me, being but young, to govern a kingdom of the weight

of this one, and enticed to all worldly delight I cannot but grieve to think of it, in regard to my soul's good. Surely these pleasures are great hindrances to my salvation. The burden being so great, and too great for me to bear, I am resolved (as before) that Barachias shall be your king."

He then commanded that he should be crowned. He thereafter taught him how he should rule. So staying a few days with them, he went afterwards towards the desert.

The sorrow of the people was great for the loss of their king, and they went mourning to find him out again, but could not.

Thus Joasaph left his palace and his kingdom, joyful in heart like one who had been long in exile, but at length returns to his native land. He had on his ordinary dress, but underneath was the rough garment of hair which Barlaam had given him. That night he stopped in a poor man's cottage, and to him he gave the robes he wore as his final act of charity. So he went forth to the solitary life, carrying neither bread nor water, nor any other of the necessities of life, but having his soul transfixed with love to Christ the Eternal king. With stedfast purpose he went forward, never looking behind him till he reached the remote parts of the desert and joyful in heart because he had got rid of the distracting cares of things temporal, which he had felt to be a burden and a yoke grievous to be borne. He prayed that he might be directed to where Barlaam dwelt. Thus he journeyed, subsisting on the scanty fare of the herbs that grew in the desert, but suffering much from want of water. Night being come he espied a fountain of pure water where he refreshed himself with such wild roots as he gathered in the desert. He however found them unsavoury and bitter. Then he again drank of the water and there rested that night.

The next day he travelled till evening, and fed on roots, but very scantily. When the third day came, he was very hungry and gathered more roots, eating them with a good appetite. But when the devil, who hates and envies the good, saw how steadfast his purpose was, he tormented him with manifold temptations. He brought before him in memory of his former glory, his friends and comrades, and all the pleasures of life; he then suggested to him how rough was the path of virtue, how many its difficulties; he reminded him how weak he was, how intense was his thirst, how hopeless to expect any comfort or cessation of toil. Thus he filled his heart with thoughts like clouds of dust, just as it is recorded concerning the famous Antony. When this plan failed, he endeavoured to terrify him. He appeared before him black as he really is; then he rushed towards him, holding a drawn sword in his hand, threatening to strike him if he did not turn back; then he assumed the form of different wild beasts, bellowing and roaring with awe-inspiring sound; then he changed himself into a dragon, a serpent, a basilisk. But he remained unmoved through all the ordeal, as one who had made the Most High his refuge. He rebuked the evil one, and making the sign of the cross, the beasts and reptiles vanished like smoke, or like wax before the fire. And once more he went on his way, and though he encountered many dangers, his heart was unmoved, for with him love had cast out fear.

Thus he travelled one month, not meeting any man. At last he met in with a hermit, and was overjoyed. He addressed him.—“God keep you my friend. Know you where in this desert, I shall find a holy man whose name is Barlaam?”

The hermit answered—“I know him not, but I have heard much of him, that he is both just and holy, and lives in this wilderness.” So that night he stayed with him and on the morning departed.

When three months were expired he reached the land of Shinar, where Barlaam lived. There he met with another



hermit, whom he addressed "God bless you, my friend." The hermit answered—"Thou art welcome, my son. Who art thou? How camest thou here? Whom dost thou seek?"

Joasaph answered—"A holy man, named Barlaam. Can you tell me of him?"

The hermit answered,—“I have heard of his name, an upright man and a servant of God, who hath a long time lived here, but I know him not.” Then he staid with him a certain time and departed.

Thus he spent eight months in this solitary life; and wandering up and down, he met again with two hermits who asked him who he was and for whom he sought.

Joasaph answered—"I seek for Barlaam, the servant of God, who lives some where in this desert, making penance."

The hermits said—"It is almost seven years since he was with us, and said that he had come out of India from a city of King Abenner, to preach the gospel to Joasaph his son, whom he converted to the Christian faith; and then he went from us to his own cell, but whither we know not." Joasaph hearing that Barlaam was still in the desert, and finding no man who could tell him where, he began to weep, desiring much to see him. So he staid a while with them. He then took his leave, sought Barlaam for six months more, but could hear nothing more concerning his whereabouts.

Now when he had spent two full years and could by no means find him, he resolved in his own mind that he would wander no further, but pass his time in some obscure place, and there he stayed certain days. At last his heart moved him still onwards; then he prayed and said—"O Thou, Creator of heaven and earth, for whose sake I have taken this pilgrimage upon me, assist me now in this vast desert, all other hopes being taken from me, to find out thy servant Barlaam, so will my faith be more confirmed, and my vows better performed, both of me, and to Thee. Amen."

Having offered up this short ejaculatory prayer, he proceeded on his way, and going down a valley, he espied afar off a lion coming towards him, at which he was troubled. The lion, on meeting him, began to crouch and lick his feet. Joasaph marvelled much on seeing this. The lion then went before him and often looked back on Joasaph in an humble and submissive way. This made Joasaph think that there was some good to be got by following him. This went on for an hour or two, till they reached Barlaam's cell. The lion then left him.

Standing outside the cave, where he dwelt, he cried "Bless me, father, bless me." He then entered the cave but found nobody there. So musing with himself what to do, Barlaam at last came, and observing Joasaph in before him, was greatly troubled because for a long time he had seen no man. He however in spirit recognised him whose external appearance was so changed by the hardships he underwent, and Joasaph recognising him, caught him in his arms, and so embracing him that he could not move. Then the aged man gave thanks to God turning towards the east, and at the end of the prayer, they said 'Amen,' and they embraced one another in deep joy at meeting after their long separation. Barlaam could with difficulty believe that the man before him was really Joasaph, and asked him again and yet again Who he was? Then Joasaph fixing his eyes on the old man said—"I am Joasaph, the son of Avencio the king, who by your faith was converted to the Christian faith."

Barlaam replied—"O, my friend, go from me, for thou art not Joasaph, but some delusion; thou wouldst deceive me. For Joasaph was fair, but thou art black. He was fat and comely, thou art lean and withered. He was clad like a king's son, thou art naked and beggarly; and now seven years are past since I left him in India, not above fifteen years old, and thou seemest to be forty. Therefore get thee gone and trouble me not; for I think thou art some devil that wouldst deceive me".

Then said Joasaph—"O father, when first I entered this desert, after having forsaken my kingdom, I was twenty years old. For two years I have sought you, but failed in finding you till now. Therefore, my clothes must needs be mean. Besides, heat and cold, rain and snow, ill diet, bare lodgings have so altered my body, as you now see, that you need not marvel that I am so changed.

Then Joasaph went on to tell how Barlaam had first in the guise of a merchant come to him, and was the means of his conversion; and thus recounted all things which in the past had taken place between them.

When Barlaam heard the truth, fixing his eyes upon Joasaph, he embraced him with great joy and could not be satisfied, but held him in his arms, marvelling that Joasaph would leave such honours and riches with other delightful pleasures, to come so poorly into the desert. Then when he saw how naked, lean, and withered he was grown, he said within himself, 'I am not worthy to touch so holy a man': So they ate of such herbs as Joasaph had brought. Being satisfied, Barlaam asked—What had become of his Father? Joasaph told him all things that had passed, and the injuries that he did him, and yet how afterwards he gave him the fourth part of his kingdom and was at last converted by him to the Faith wherein he continued three years, and then died: and how he himself governed the kingdom one year, and left it to the charge of Barachias as king.

Barlaam hearing the troubles through which he had passed, and seeing how steadfast he remained in the Faith, thanked God; and so they continued seventeen years, spending their time in the Desert, practising asceticism to such an extent that even Barlaam was smitten with wonder, and felt himself inferior to Joasaph in his severe self-discipline. He never lost an hour, nay even not a moment all the time that he dwelt in the desert.

At length Barlaam, in his sleep, heard a voice saying—"Fifty four years thou hast done penance here serving me with all uprightness. Now therefore know, within three days thou shalt leave Life and go to thy Rest." Then called he Joasaph, declaring unto him what he had heard. So he fell sick. When Joasaph saw him, he exceedingly grieved saying—"O Father, wilt thou leave me alone?"

When Barlaam saw him grieve, he took pity on him, and prayed saying—"Lord God, I beseech thee, let Joasaph also pass out of this life with me, that he may not be left alone."

Then the voice answered; "Joasaph must remain a while here, for Three Reasons:—The first is, that God may give him greater glory than to thee. The second, that he may make him a greater example to the people. The third, that by his longsuffering he may win more people to Christ."

He then called Joasaph, telling him all he heard in his sleep, he comforted him and said—"Be firm and patient to fight against the devils and the temptations of the world." He thus instructed him from Thursday till Sunday how to conduct himself; and after he procured what was necessary for the holy sacrifice, and presented to God the bloodless offering, and, having communicated himself he administered to Joasaph the pure mysteries of Christ. Then he spent the night comforting him in his sorrow at his approaching death; and in the morning he offered prayer to God, and having made the sign of the cross, he died peacefully as though he were setting out upon a happy journey.

Joasaph in deepest sorrow committed his body with all reverence into a grave dug in his cell, leaving it uncovered, because daily he would go and see him being much grieved for his death. He recited over him the customary Psalms, and in his loneliness betook himself to prayer. He then fell asleep and it seemed to him as though he was borne again to that glorious city which he had seen before. When he entered it,

beings wreathed with light met him, holding in their hands crowns of wondrous beauty, such as mortal eyes have never seen. As he asked for whom they were intended, the answer came that one was for himself, since he had led many souls to salvation, and since he now was devoting himself so fully to the ascetic life; and that a second crown was his also, which he might give to his father whom he had turned from his evil ways. Joasaph indignantly exclaimed—"How can you make him equal to me, when I have endured so much, and he performed but one act of penitence?" But Barlaam appeared to him in the vision and reproved him: "Did I not tell you that when you were rich, you would not be liberal, and you were astonished at my words; yet now you are indignant that your father is set on an equality with you"! Then Joasaph sought pardon, and he asked Barlaam where he dwelt, and he told him he dwelt in that most beautiful city, and the abode which was allotted to him was in a street in the midst of it, radiant with most brilliant light, and that Joasaph would come there also if he persevered to the end, as soon as he was set free from the burden of the flesh. Then he awoke, comforted and strengthened by the vision.

Joasaph survived Barlaam in the desert seventeen years, leading so strict a life, that other hermits afar off came to be instructed by him.

One day falling into a slumber, he heard a voice saying—"Prepare thyself to die, for within six days thou shalt go to Barlaam." Then he praised God. Shortly thereafter a hermit who lived twenty miles apart came unto him. He was an old friend of his, being a native of the same city. He, seeing Joasaph very sick, knelt before him and kissed his hands and feet, and said—"My lord Joasaph, God give you patience; and know I am a hermit, sent by an angel to bury thee, by the side of Barlaam, thy companion. I know thou art the son of Abenner the king, and hast been here for thirty six years. I am now come to tell thee that within six days

thou must change this mortal life, and I am to be with thee at thy dissolution."

Then Joasaph thanked God, and instructed the hermit, recounting unto him all his past life, and then, in the time appointed, died.

So the hermit took his body and buried it in a grave by the side of Barlaam. He then locked up his cell and went into Bengalia, the realm of Joasaph, where he found Barachias king. To him he told how both Joasaph and Barlaam were dead, and how he had buried them close together. On hearing all this Barachias was much grieved, and calling his nobles together he addressed them, saying, "My lords, I am resolved to go with this hermit to visit the bodies of Joasaph and Barlaam, and then to bring them to this city with as great a solemnity as may be."

So the day being appointed, Barachias with his barons went towards their sepulchres, whither they went with a multitude of people, going likewise to see the dead bodies. Barachias having reached the cell caused the dead bodies free from all corruption, to be taken up and put into new splendid coffins. They were then carried into India, where he built a sumptuous church, as also two sepulchres of pure gold, adorned with stones of great value, there to remain to their perpetual remembrance—with this inscription—

WITHIN THIS SACRED TOMB OF GOLD SO FINE,  
IS PLACED JEHOSEPHAT'S AND BARLAAM'S SHRINE,  
WHO FOR THEIR VIRTUE AND GREAT PIETY,  
ARE FLED TO LIVE ABOVE ETERNALLY.  
AND ALL THAT DO THEIR STEPS OF VIRTUE TREAD,  
AMONGST THE SAINTS AND ANGELS, THEY'LL BE LED. \*

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\* This inscription is not given in two out of the five English copies in the British Museum. Bound up with one of the three dated 1732, there is a little book of 12 pages, called "a Guide from the cradel to the grave," illustrated with ten pictures. One of the five volumes is a duplicate; the others are different editions of the same translation. They are all small 12mo., printed as chap-books on or near London Bridge. They end with the above inscription. The two paragraphs that follow are from Dr. Berry's translation of the original Greek.

At the funeral, hymns of praise were sung, and many torches were lit (suitable, as one might say, around the sons and heirs of light), and laid them in the church built by Joseph. And the Lord wrought many wonders and cures by their bones, both while the bodies were being removed and buried and also in after days. And king Barachias and all the people saw these wonders; and many of the surrounding nations who were unbelievers, and did not know the Lord, were convinced by the miracles at the tomb. And all who saw and heard, marvelled at the angelic life of Joseph and his all pervading love to God; and they glorified God who ever works with those who love Him, and rewards them with priceless gifts.

Now this is the end of the book, which I (John) have written to the best of my ability, as I heard it from the worthy men who truthfully related it to me. May we who read or hear this profitable story, receive our portion together with those holy men, Barlaam and Joseph, who, by prayer and intercession, pleased God through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honour, power, majesty and glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit now and ever, and throughout all ages. Amen.

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## PREFATORY NOTES TO THE GOLDEN LEGEND.

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"AMONG the books which serve to illustrate the religious life and mode of thought that prevailed in the middle ages, none holds a more important place than the 'Legenda Aurea.' Compiled and put into form in the latter half of the 13th century, the welcome with which it was received by the clergy and the lettered world is attested by the great number of MSS. of it which are still extant, while its ready reception by the people generally is evidenced by the fact that within a short time of its first appearance it was translated into the vulgar tongue of most of the nations of Europe, frequently with alterations and additions in accordance with the hagiological preferences of the people for which it was designed.....No sooner was it in type than edition after edition appeared with surprising rapidity. Probably no other book was more usually reprinted in various languages between the years 1470 and 1520 than the compilation of Jacobus de Voragine."

The French translation "has the honour of being the first French book printed in France with a date."

Mr. F. S. Ellis from whose "memoranda" we have quoted the above adds—"It may be noted as a curious bibliographical fact, without the slightest intention to draw any inference from it, that while Wynken de Worde was engaged on the last black letter edition of the Golden Legend, William Tyndale was busy at Cologne, endeavouring to get into type the first edition of the New Testament in English."

The story of Barlaam the Hermit commences near the bottom of page 1152 and ends in the middle of page 1166, of "THE GOLDEN LEGEND OF MASTER WILLIAM CAXTON, DONE ANEW," printed by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press, Upper Mall, London, 1892. Three large Quarto Vols. Price £ 10 10sh.

Caxton in his Preface writes :—"For in likewise as gold is most noble above all other metals, in likewise is this legend held most noble above all other works."

I add the following extracts from *The Times'* Review (April 7th, 1893) of William Morris' reprint of Caxton's "Golden Legend."

"The faith, credulity, or reverent superstition of the early church glorified the holy lives of the saints and the martyrs, and attributed to their sanctity all manner of miracles. Those stories came to be literally accepted as gospel, and were read



aloud, not only in the refectories of the convents during meals, but after matins and vespers in the monastic chapels. Hence the name of *legends*. In the 13th century it occurred to Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican friar, to collect them, and certainly his researches seem to have been wonderfully exhaustive, if we are not to credit him with a lively imagination. He modestly entitled his work 'Legends of the Saints'. But as the fame of his compilation raised him to the Archbishopric of Genoa, so the fervour of his innumerable admirers glorified the legends as 'golden'. Winkin de Worde expressed the universal feeling of the devout when he wrote—'Like as passeth gold in value all other metals, so the Legend surpasseth all other books.' So far as the style is concerned, the praise seems exaggerated, for it is simple and unadorned, as it assumes to be strictly veracious. But as for the matter, that was golden indeed for the souls who accepted it with simple devotion. It was a supplement to the Scriptures of the divine revelation, and prolonged the age of miracles and the active spiritual presence through the persecutions and dismal sufferings of the dark ages. It is narrative, and neither human logic nor argument. The author was emphatically a man of the best and purest of his time. The race of the saintly Bishops had died out; the rights of independent judgment had ceased to be exercised; and the lights of the Church only cast fitful and flickering gleams across the mephitic gloom of a world given over to wickedness. The author in unquestioning faith accepts all authority with humble acquiescence. But he shows a marvellous acquaintance with the literature of the Church and rare familiarity with the writings of the Fathers. There is much that strikes us as ludicrous and a good deal that is absurd. We often smile and we sometimes can hardly help laughing outright. But even when inclined to laugh we feel as if we were kneeling in a church before the altar, for there is so very much that is beautiful, instructive and suggestive. Jacobus de Voragine was in one sense a compiler, but in another he was a literary genius, for his selections are made with extraordinary skill and arranged in wonderful harmony. And it must be remarked that he wrote for an age when there were sinners in plenty, but few sceptics or agnostics. The man who in the turmoil of a life of crime had forgotten God and set the Church at defiance, when prostrated by disease or crippled by wounds would have been ready to seek consolation in the 'Legends of the Saints.' We shall try in brief space to give a fair idea of the contents of volumes which are veritably delightful..." Here is a specimen.

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## THE HYSTORYE OF THE HERMYTE BALAAM

FROM WILLIAM CAXTON'S GOLDEN LEGEND.

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**H**ERE followeth of Balaam the Hermyte Balaam, of whom saynt Johan damascene made the hystorye with great dyligence, in whom deuyne grace so wroughte that he converted to the feyth saynt Josaphat. And then as all ynde was ful of crysten peple and of monkes ther aroos a puyssaunt kyng wich was named auennyre whiche made grete persecucion to cristen men, and specyally to monkes. ¶ And it happed so that one whiche was frende of the kyng and chyef in his palys, by the inspiracion of deuyne grace lefte the halle ryal for to entre into the order of monkes. And when the kyng herd say that he was cristen he was wode with angre, and dyd to seche hym thorough euery deserte til that he was founde with grete payne, and thenne he was broughte tofore hym. And whan he sawe hym in a vyle cote and moche lene for hungre whyche was wonte to be couerd with precious clothyng and habounded in moche richesse, and sayd to hym. ¶ O thou fole and out of thy mynde, why hast thou chaunged thyn honour into vylonye, & arte made the player of chyl-dren? And he said to him Yf thou wilt here of me reson, put from the thyn enemyes. Thenne the kyng demaunded hymn who were his enemyes, and he said to hym, yre and couetyse, for they empresshe & lette that trouthe may not be seen, ne to essay prudence and equitye. ¶ To whome the kyng said, Lete it be as thou sayest, & that other said, The foles despise the thynges that ben, lyke as they were not, & he that hath not the tastes of the thynges that ben, he shall not vse the swetnesse of them and may not lerne the trouthe of them that ben not. ¶ And when he had shewyed many thynges of the mysterye of thyncarnation, the kyng said to hym, Yf I had not promysed the atte begynnyng that I shold put awaye yre fro my counceyl I sholde caste thy body to the fyre.

¶ Goo thy weye and flee fro myn eyen that I see the nomore, and that I now dystresse the not. ¶ And anone the man of god wente his waye al heuily bycause he had not suffred marterdom. ¶ Thus thenne in this mene whyle it happyd that to the kyng whiche had no chylde, there was a fayr sone borne of his wyf, & was called Josaphat. ¶ And thenne the kyng assemblyd a righte grete companye of peple for to make sacrefyse to his goddes for the natuyte of his sone, and also assemblid lv astronomyens, of whom he enquired what shold befallie his sone. And they sayd to hym that he shold be grete in power and in riches. And one more wyse than another said, Syr, this childe that is born shal not be in thy reygne, but he shal be in another moche better without comparyson, & knowe thou that I suppose that he shal be of crysten relygyon, whiche thou persecutest. And that sayd he not hymself, but he sayd it by inspyracyon of god. ¶ And when the kyng herde that, he doubted moche and dyd do make without the cyte a ryghte noble paleys, and therein sette he hys sone for to dwell and abyde, and sette right fayre youngelynges, & commanded them that they shold not speke to hym of deth, ne of olde age, ne of sickeness, ne of pourte, ne of no thyng that may gyue hym cause of heuy-nes, but say to hym alle thynges that been ioyous, so that his mynde may be esprysed with gladnes, & that he thynke on nothyng to come. And anone as one of his seruauntes were seke, the kyng commaunded for to take hem aweye, and sette another hool in hys stede, and commaunded that no meneyon shold be made of hym of Jhesu cryste.

In that tyme was wyth the kynge a man whych was secretly crysten, and was chyef emonge all the noble prynces of the kynge, he fonde a pour man lyeng on the grounde whiche was hurte on the foote of a beest, whyche prayed that he wold receyue hym and that he myght of hym be holpen by somme meane. ¶ And the knyght sayd, I shall receyue

the gladly, but I wote not how thou mayst doo any prouffyte. ¶ And he sayd to hym, I am a leche of wordes, and yf ony be hurte by wordes I can well gyue hym a medecyne. And the knyght sette it at noughte all that he sayd, but he receyued hym onelye for goddes sake and helyd hym. ¶ And then somme prynces enuyous and malyceyous saw that this pryncce was soo grete and gracyous with the kyng, accused hym to the kyng, and sayd that he was not onelye torned to the crysten feythe, but enforced to withdrawe fro hym his royame, and that he mocuyd and solycyted the companye and counceyllled theym thereto. ¶ And yf thou wylte knowe it, sayd they, thenne calle hym secretelye, & say to hym that this lyf is sone doon, & therefore thou wylte leue the glorye of the worlde & of thy royame, and afferme that thou wylte take the habyte of monkes, whom thou haste soo persecuted by ygnorance, & after that thou shalte see what he shal answer. ¶ And whan the kyng had doon alle lyke as they had sayd, the knyghte that newe noo thyng of the treason begaune to weepe, and praysed moche the counceyll of the kyng, and remembryd hym of the vanytee of the world and counceyllled hym to doo it as sone as he myght. And whan the kyng herde hym saye soo, he supposed it had been trewe that the other had sayd to hym, how be it he sayd no thyng. And thenne he understood and apperceyued that the kyng had taken his wordes in euyl, and went and told al this vnto the leche of wordes alle by ordre. And he sayd to hym, knowe thou for trouthe, that the kyng feryth that thou wylte assaylle his royame. ¶ Aryse thou to morrowe and shaue of thyn heer and doo of thy vestementes, and clothe the in hayr in manere of a monke, & goo erlye to the kyng. Whan he shalle demaunde the what thou menest, thou shalte answer, my lord kyng, I am redy to folowe the, for yf the waye by whyche thou desyrest to goo be harde, yf I be wyth the it shal be the lyghter to the, and lyke as thou haste had me in prosperyte so shalte thou haue me in aduersyte, I am al

redy, wherefore taryest thou ? And whan he had thys doon and sayd by ordre, the kyng was abashed and repreuyd the false men and dyd to hym more honoure thenne he dyd before.

And after thys the kynges sone that was nourysshed in the paleys come to age and grewe and was playnely taughte in al wysdom ¶ And he meruaylled wherefore hys fader had so enclosed hym, and called one of his servuantes whiche was moste famylyer wyth hym, secretely, and demaunded hym of this thyng, and sayd to hym that he was in grete heynnesse that he myghte not goo oute, and that his mete ne drynke sauerid hym not ne dyd hym no good. And whan his fader herde this, he was ful of sorowe. ¶ And anone he lete do make redy horses and ioeyful felawshyp to accompanye hym, in suche wyse that no thyng dyshoneste shold happen to hym. And on a tyme thus as the kynges sone wente a mesel and a blynde man met hym & whan he saw them he was abashed and enquyred what them ayled, and his seurauntes sayd, Thyse ben passyons that comen to men. And he demaunded yf the passyons comen to all men, and they sayd nay. ¶ Thenne said he, Ben they knowen which men shal suffre thyse passyons without dyffyncion ? And they answered, Who is he that may knowe thaduentures of men ? And he began to be moche anguysshous for the inustomable thyng hereof. ¶ And another tyme he fonde a man moche aged whiche had his chere frounced, his teth fallen, and was al croked with age. Where of he was abashed and said he desyred to knowe the myracle of thys vysyon. And whan he knewe that thys was bycause he had lyued many yerys, thenne he demaunded what shold be the ende, and they sayd dethe, and he sayd, Is thenne the dethe the ende of alle men or of some ? And they sayd for certeyn that all men must deye. And whan he knewe that alle shold deye, he demaunded them in how many yerys that shold happene, & they sayd, In olde

age of four score yere or an hondred, and after that age the dethe foloweth. And thys yonge man remembryd ofte in his herte thyse thynges, and was in great dyscomforte, but he shewyed hym moche glad to fore his fader, and he desyred moche to be enformed and taughte in thyse thynges. ¶ And then there was a monke of parfyte lyf and good opynyon that dwellyd in the deserte of the land of sennaar named balaam. And thys monke knewe by the holy ghoost what was done aboute this kynges sone, and toke the abbyte of a marchaunte, and came vnto the cytee, & spake to the gretest gouernour of the kynges sone, and sayd to hym, I am a marchaunte and have a precyous stone to selle whyche gyueth syght to blynde men, and heryng to deaf men. Hyt maketh the dombe to speke and gyueth wysedom to fooles, & therefore brynge me to the kynges sone and I shal delyuer it to hym. To whome he sayd, thou semest a man of prudente nature, but thy wordes accordle to thyng to wysedom, neuerthelesse yf I had knowleche of that stone shewe it me, & yf it be suche as thou sayest, and so proued, thou shalt have right grete honoures of the kynges sone. To whom balaam sayd, my stone hath yet suche vertue, that he that seeth it, & hath none hool syght & kepeth not entyer chastyte, yf he happelye saw it, the vertue vysyble that he hath he shold lese it, and I that am a physycyen see wel that thou hast not thy syght hool, but I understande that the kynges sone is chaste and hath ryght fayre eyen and hoole. ¶ And theunc the man sayd, Yf it be so shewe it not to me, for myn eyen ben not hoole, and am foule of synne. And balaam sayd, Thys thyng apperteyneth to the kynges sone, and therefore brynge me to hym anone, & he anone told this to the kynges sone, and broughte hym anone in. And he receyued hym honourably, and then balaam sayd to hym, Thou hast doon well, for thou hast not taken hede of my lytelncsse that apperyth wythoutforth, but thou hast doon lyke into a noble kyng, whyche when he rood in his chaar cladde wyth clothes of gold

and mette wyth poure men whiche were cladde wyth torn clothes, and anone he sprang out of his chare and fyl down to their feet and worshypped theym, & after aroos and kyssed them, and his barons toke thys euyl and were aferde to repreue hym thereof, but they sayd to hys brother, how the kyng had doon thyng ageynst hys ryal magestee, and his brother repreuyed hym thereof. ¶ And the kyng hadde suche a custome that whan one sholde be delyvered to deth, the kyng sholde sende his cryar wyth hys trompe that was ordeyned thereto. ¶ And on the euen he sente the cryar wyth the trompe tofore hys brothers gate, & made to sowne the trompe, & whan the kynges brother herde thys he was in dyspayr of sauynge of hys lyf, and coude not slepe of all the nyght, & made hys testamente. ¶ And on the morne erlye he cladde hym in blacke, and came wepyng wyth his wyf and children to the kynges paleys, and the kyng made hym come tofore hym, and sayd to hym, A foole that thou arte, yf thou hast herde the messenger of thy brother, to whom thou knowest wel thou hast not trespaced, and doubted soo moche, how ought not I thenne doubte the messagers of our lord, ageynst whome I have soo ofte synned, whyche sygnefied vnto me clerely the dethe thenne the trompe, and shewed to me horrible comyng of the iuge. ¶ And after this he dyde doo make four chestys, and dyd doo couer two of them with golde wythoutforthe and dyd doo fylle them wyth bones of deed men and of fylthe. And the other two he dyd doo pytche, and dyd doo fylle theym wyth precyous stones and ryche gemmys. ¶ And after thys kyng dyd doo call his grete barons by cause he knew wel that they compleyned of hym to his brother, and dyd doo sette thyse four chestys tofore them, and demaunded of them which were moste precious, and they sayd that the two that were gylte were moost of valewe. Thenne the kyng commaunded that they shold be opened and anone a grete stenche yssued out of them. And the kyng sayd, they be lyke them that be

clothed wyth precyous vestmentes and ben ful wythinforth of ordure and of synne. And after he made opene the other and there yssued a meruaylous swete odour. And after the kyng sayd, Thyse ben semblable to the poure men that I mette and honoured, for though they be cladde of foule vestymentes yet shyne they wythinforth wyth good odour of good vertues, and ye take none hede but to that wythoutforthe and consydere not what is wythin. ¶ And thou hast doon to me like as that kyng dyd, for thou haste wel receyued me.

And after thys balaam beganne to telle to hym a longe sermone of the creacyon of the world and of the day of iugemente and of the rewarde of good and euyl, & began strongely to blame them that worshyp ydolles & told to hym of theyr folye suche an exauple as followeth, sayeng, That an archer toke a lytel byrde callyd a nyghtyngale, and whan he wold have slayne this nyghtyngale there was a voys gyuen to the nynghtyngale whyche sayd, O thou man what shold it auayle the yf thou slee me? Thou mayste not fylle thy bely wyth me, but and yf thou wylte lete me goo I shal tache the thre wysdoms, that yf thou kepe them dylygentely thou mayst have grete proufyte therby. Thenne he was abashed of his wordes & promysed that he wold lete hym goo yf he wold telle hym his wysdoms. Thenne the byrde sayd, Studye never to take that thyng that thou mayst not take. And of thyng loste whiche may not be recoueryd, sorowe neuer therefore. Ne byleue neuer thyng that is incredyble. Kep wel thyse thre thynges and thou shalte doo wel. And thenne he lete the byrde goo as he had promysed. And thenne the nyghtyngale fleyng in the ayer sayd to hym. ¶ Alas thou wretched man, thou haste had euyl counceyl, for thou hast loste thys day grete tresour. For I have in my bowellys a precyous margaryte whyche is gretter thenne the egge of an ostryche. And whan he herde that he was moche wroth and sorowed sore by cause he had leten hir goo, and enforced hym



al that he coude to take hyr ageyne, sayeng, Come ageyn to my hows and I shal shewe to the al humanyte and gyue to the alle that shal nede the and after shal lete the goo honourably where as thou wylte. Thenne sayd the nyghtyngale to hym, Now I knowe wel that thou arte a fool, for thou hast no prouffyte in the wysedoms that I haue sayd to the. For thou arte ryghte sorowful for me whome thou hast loste whyche am irrecuperable, and yet thou wenest to take me where thou mayst not come so hygh as I am, and furthermore where thou byleuest to be in me a precyous stone more thenne the egge of an ostrytche, whan alle my body may not atteyne to the gretenesse of such an egge. And in lyke wyse be they foolys that adoure and truste in ydolles, for they worship that whiche they haue made and calle theym whome they haue maad kepars of them. ¶ And after he begaune to dyspute ageynste the fallace of the world and delite and vanyte therof, and broughte forth many ensaumples and sayd,

They that desyre the delytes coporalle & suffre their soules deye for hungre, ben lyke to a man that fiedde tofore an vnycorne that he shold not deuoure hym & in fleyng he fyl in to a grete pytte, & as he fyl he caughte a brannche of a tre with his hande & sette his feet vpon a slydyng place, & thenne saw two myse, that one whyte and that other blacke, whyche wythoute cessyng gnawe the rote of the tre, and had almoste gnawen it a sondre. And he saw in the bottom of thys pytte an horryble dragon castyng fyre, and had his mouthe opene & desyred to deuoure hym. Vpon the slydyng place on which his feet stood he sawe the heedes of fouré serpentes whyche yssueden there, & thenne he lefte up his eyen and sawe a lytel hony that henge in the bowes of the tree, and forgate the perylle that he was in & gane hym al to the sweteness of that lytel hony. The vnycorne is the fygure of deth whiche contynuelly foloweth man and desyareth to take hym. The pytte is the world whiche is ful of al wycked-

nesse. The tre is the lyf of every man whiche by the two myse, that ben, the day and nyght and the houres thereof, incessantly ben wasted and approached to the cuttyng or gnawynge a sonder. The place where the iiii serpentes were is the body ordeyned by the four elementes, by whiche the ioynture of the membrys is corrupte in bodyes dyshordynate. The horrible dragon is the mouthe of helle whiche desyreth to deuoure al creatures. The swetnesse of the hony in the bowes of the tre is the false deceyuable delectacyon of the world, by whiche man is deceyued so that he taketh no hede of the perylle that he is in.

And yet he sayd, that they that love the world been semblable to a man that had thre frendes, of whyche he loued the fyrste as moche as hymself, and he louyd the second lasse thenne hym self, and louyd the thyrde a lytel or nought. And it happed so that this man was in grete perylle of his lyf and was somoned to fore the kynge. Thenne he ran to his fyrste frende and demaunded of hym his helpe and told to hym how he had alweye louyd hym, to whome he sayd, I have other frendes with whom I must be this day & I wote not who thou arte, therefore I may not helpe the, yet neuerthelesso I shal gyue to the two sloppes wyth whyche thou mayst couer the. And thenne he wente awaye moche sorouful & wente to that other frende and requyred also his ayde, and he sayd to hym, I may not attende to goo wyth the to thys debate for I have grete charge, but I shal yet felawshyp the vnto the gate of the paleys, and thenne I shal retorne ageyn and doo myn owne nedes. And thenne he beyng heuy and as despayned wente to the thyrde frende and sayd to hym, I have noo reson to speke to the ne I have not loued the as I oughte, but I am in tribulacion and wythoute frendes and praye the that thou helpe me. And that other sayd wyth glad chere, Certes I confesse to be thy dere frende and have not foryeten the

lytel benefayte that thou hast doon to me and I shal goo ryght gladle wyth the tofore the kynge for to see what shal be demaunded of the and I shal praye the kynge for the. ¶ The first frende is possessyon of rychesse for whyche man putteth hym in many perylles & whan the dethe cometh he hath no more of hit but a cloth for to wynde hym for to be buried. The second frende is his sones, hys wyf and kynne, whyche goo wyth hym to hys graue & anone retorne for to entende to theyr owne nedes. The thyrd frende is feythe, hope, & charyte and other good werkys whyche we haue doon, that whan we yssue out of our bodyes they may wel goo to fore vs and pray god for vs and they may wel delyuer us fro the deuylls our enemyes.

And yet he sayd accordyng to thys, that in certeyn cyte is a custome that they of the cite shal chese euery yere a straunge man and vnknownen for to be theyr prynce, and they shal gyue hym puyssaunce to doo what someuer he wyl and gouerne the contree wythout any other constytucion. And he beyng thus in grete delyces & wenyng euer to contynue, sodeynlye they of the cyte shold aryse ageynste hym and lede hym naked thorugh the cyte, and after sende hym in to an yle in exyle, & there he shold fynde neyther mete ne clothe but shold be constreyned to be perysshed for hungre and colde. And after that they wolde enhaunce another to the kyngdome, and thus they dyd longe. At the last they took one whyche knewe theyr custome and he sent tofore hym in to that yle grete tresoure wythoute nombre duryng alle hys yere. And whan his yere was accomplyshed and passed he was put out and put to exyle lyke the other, and where as the other that had ben tofore hym perysshed for colde and hungre, he habounded in grete rychesses and delyces. ¶ And this cyte is the world and the cytezeyns ben the prynces of derknesse whiche fede vs with false delectacyon of the world, and thenne the deth cometh whan we take

none hede, and then we ben sente in exyle to the place of derknesse and the rychesses that ben tofore sente ben don by the handes of pour men.

And whan balaam had perfytcly taughte the kynges sone and wolde leue his fader for to folowe hym, balaam said to hym, Yf thou wylt doo thus, thou shalt be semblable to a yonge man that whan he shold have weddyd a noble wyf he forsoke hyr and fledde aweye and came in to a place where as he saw a virgyn, doughter of an old poure man, that labourcd and preysed god with hir mowthe. To whom he sayd, What is that thou doest doughter that arte so poure and alweye thou thankest god like as thou haddest receyued grete thynges of hym? To whome she sayd, Lyke as a lytel medecyne ofte delyuereth a grete langour & payne, right so for to gyue to god thankynge alweye of a lytell yefte is made a gyuer of grete yestes, for the thynges that ben withoutforth ben not oures, but they that be wythin vs ben oures, & therefore I have receyued grete thynges of god, for he hath made me lyke to his ymage. He hath gyuen to me understondyng, he hath called me to his glorye & hath opened to me the yate of his kyngdom, and therefore for thyse yestes it is fyttyng to me to gyue hym praysyng. Thys yonge man seyng hyr prudence axed of hir fader to have hir to wyf, to whome the fader sayd, Thou mayst not haue my doughter for thou arte the sone of ryche & noble kynne and I am but a poure man. But whan he sore desyred hir, the olde man sayd to hym, I may not gyue hir to the syth thou wylt lede hir home in to the hows of thy fader, for she is myn onelye doughter and I have no moo. ¶ And he said, I shal dwelle wyth the, and shal accorde with the in al thynges. And thenne he dyd of his precyous vestementes, and dyd on hym the habyte of an olde man, and soo dwellyng with hym toke hir vnto his wyf, and whan the old man had longe preuyd he lade hym in to hys chambre, and shewed to hym grete plenty

of rychesses, more then he euer had, and gaue to hym al. ¶ And thenne Jchosaphat sayd to hym, Thys narracyon toucheth me couenably, and I trowe thou hast sayd thys for me. Now saye to me fader how many yere arte thou olde, and where conuersest thou, for fro the I wil neuer departe. To whom balaam sayd, I have dwellyd xlv yere in the deserte of the londe of sennaar. To whom Josaphat sayd, Thou seemest better to be lxx yere, and he sayd, Yf thou demaundest alle the yeres of my natyuyte thou hast wel esteemed them, but I accounte not the nombre of my lyf them specyally that I have dyspended in the vanytee of the world, for I was thenne dede toward god and I nombre not the yerys of dethe wyth the yerys of lyf. ¶ And whan Josaphat wold have folowed hym in to deserte, balaam sayd to hym, Yf thou do so I shal not have thy companye, and I shal be thenne thanctor of persecucion to my brethern, but whan thou sceest tyme couenable thou shalt come to me. ¶ And thenne balaam baptysed the kynges sone and enformed hym wel in the feythe, and after returned in to his celle.

And a lytel whyle after the kynge herde saye that hys sone was crystened, wherefore he was moche sorouful. And one that was his frende, named Arachys, recomfortyng hym sayd, Syr kynge, I know right well an olde hermyte that resembleth moche balaam, and he is of our secte. He shal fayne hym as he were balaam, and shal deffende fyrste the feyth of crysten men and after shal leue and retorne fro it, & thus your sone shal retorne to you. ¶ And thenne the kynge wente in to deserte as it were to seche balaam, and toke thys hermyte and fayned that he had taken balaam. And whan the kynges sone herde that balaam was taken he wepte bitterly, but afterwarde he knew by reuclacyon deuyne that it was not he. ¶ Thenne the kynge wente to his sone and sayd to hym, Thou hast put me in grete heuynesse, thou hast dyshonoured myn olde age, thou hast derked the light of myn

eyen, sone, why hast thou doon so ? Thou hast forsaken the honour of my goddes. ¶ And he answerd to hym, I have fledde the derkenessys, & am comen to the lyght, I have fledde errour and knowe trouthe, & therfore trauaylle the for nought, for thou mayst neuer withdrawe me fro Jhesu cryste. For lyke as it is impossible for the to touche the heuen wyth thy honde, or for to drye the grete see, so is it to the for to chaunge me. Thenne the fader sayd, Who is cause herof but I myself that so gloriously haue to nourysshed the, that neuer fader nourisshed more hys sone ? For whych cause thyn euyl wyll hath made the wood ageynst me, and it is wel ryght, for the astronomyens in thy natyutye sayd that thou sholdest be proude and dyshobedyente to thy parentes, but and thou now wylte not obeye me thou shalte no more be my sone, and I shal be thyn enemye for a fader, and shal do to the that I neuer dyd to myn enemyes. ¶ To whom Josaphat sayd, Fader, wherefore arte thou angry bycause I am made a partyner of good thynges. What fader was euer sorouful in the prosperyte of hys sone ? I shal no more calle the fader, but & yf thou be contrary to me I shal flee the as a serpente.

Thenne the kynge departed from hym in grete angre, and sayd to arache his frende alle the hardnes of his sone. And he counceyllled the kynge that he shold gyue hym noo sharpe wordes, for a chylde is better reformed by fayr & swete wordes. ¶ The daye folowyng the kynge came to his sone & beganne to clyppe, embrace & kysse hym, & sayd to hym, my ryght swete sone, honoure thou myn olde age, sone, drede thy fader. Knowest thou not wel that it is good to obeye thy fader and make hym glad, and for to doo contrarye it is synne, & they angre them synne euyl ? ¶ To whome Josaphat sayd, There is tyme to loue, and tyme to hate, tyme of pees, and tyme of bataylle, & we ought in no wyse loue them ne obeye to them that wold put vs awaye fro god, be it fader or moder. ¶ And when hys fader sawe his stedfastnesse, he sayd to hym,

Syth I see thy folye & wylte not obeye to me, come & we shal knowe the trouthe, for balaam whiche hath deceyued the is bounden in my pryson, and letē us assemble our peple wyth balaam, and I shal sende for alle the galylecs that they may sauflly come wythout drede and dyspute, and yf that ye with your balaam overcome vs, we shal byleue and obeye you, and yf we ouercome you, ye shal consente to us. ¶ And thys plesyd wel to the kynge and to josaphat, & whan they had ordeyned that he that named hym balaam shold fyrste deffende the feythe of cryste, & suffre hym after to be ouercomen, & soo were all assemblyd. Thenne Josaphat torned hym toward nachor, whyche fayned hym to be balaam, and sayd, Balaam thou knowest wel how thou haste taughte me, and yf thou deffende the feyth that I have lerned of the, I shal abyde in thy doctryne to the ende of my lyf, and yf thou be ouercomen I shal auenge me anone on the myn iniurye, and shall plucke out the tonge out of thyn heed wyth myn handes and gyue it to dogges, to thende that thou be be not so hardy to put a kynges sone in errour. ¶ And whan nachor herde that he was in grete fere, and sawe wel that yf he sayd contrarye he were but dede, and that he was taken in his own snare. And thenne he aduysed that it were better to take and holde wyth the sone thenne wyth the fader for to eschewe the perylle of deth. For the kynge had sayd to hym tofore them all, that he shold deffende the feythe hardelye and without drede. Thenne one of the maysters sayd to hym, Thou arte balaam whiche hast deceyued the sone of the kynge, and he sayd, I am Balaam whyche have not put the kynges sone in any errour, but I have broughte hym out of errour. ¶ And thenne the mayster sayd to hym, Right noble and meruayllous men have worshypped our goddes, how darest thou thenne adresse the ageynst them? And he answered, They of caldee, of egypte, & of grece, have erryd and sayden that the creatures were goddes, & the caldees supposeden that the elementes had ben goddes whiche were created to the prouffyte of men.

And the grekes supposed that cursyd men & tyrauntes had be goddes, as saturne whom they sayd ete his sone, & Jubyter whiche as they say gheldyd his fader & threwe his membrys in to the see, wher of grew venus, & Jubyter to be kyng of the other goddes by cause he transformed ofte hymself in lykenesse of a beest for to accomplysse his aduoultrye. And also they saye that Venus is goddesse of aduoultrye, & somtyme mars is hyr husband & somtyme adonydes. ¶ The egypeyens worshyppe the beestys, that is to wete a sheep, a calfe, a swyne or such other, & the crysten men worshyppe the sone of the ryght hyghe kyng, that descended fro heuen & toke nature humayne. ¶ And thenne nachor beganne clerelye to defende the lawe of crysten men, & garnysshed hym wyth many resons, so that the maysters were al abasshed and wyste not what to answer. And thenne Josaphat had grete ioye of that, whiche our lord had deffended the trouthe by hym that was enemye of trouthe. ¶ And thenne the kyng was ful of wodenesse, and commaunded that the counceyl shold departe, lyke as he wold have tretyd ageyn on the morne of the same fayte. ¶ Thenne Josaphat sayd to his fader, Lete my mayster be wyth me thys nyght to the ende that we may make our collacion to gyder for to make to morowe our answeres, and thou shalt lede thy maysters wyth the, & shal take counceyl wyth them, yf thou lede my mayster wyth the thou doest me no ryghte. ¶ Where fore he graunted to hym nachor by cause he hoped that he shold deceyue hym. And whan the kynges sone was comen to his chambre, & nachor with hym, Josaphat sayd to nachor, Ne wenest thou not that I knowe the? I wote wel that thou arte not balaam, but thou arte nachor the astronomyen. And Josaphat preched thenne to hym the waye of helthe, & conuertyd hym to the feythe, & on the morne sent hym in to deserte, and there was baptysed, and ledde the lyfe of an hermyte.

Thenne there was an enchauntour named theodas. Whan he herde of this thyng he came to the kyng and sayd that



he shold make his sone retorne & bylene in hys goddes. And the kyng sayd to hym, Yf thou do so, I shal make to the an image of golde & offre sacrefyses therto, lyke as to my goddes. And he sayd, Take aweye al them that ben aboute thy sone & put to hym fayre wymmen and wel aourned, and commaunde them alle waye to abyde by hym, and after I shal sende a wycked spyryte that shal enflamme hym to luxurye, and there is noo thyng that may so sone deceyue the yonge men as the beaulte of wymmen. ¶ And he sayd yet more,

There was a kyng whyche had wyth grete payne a sone, & the wyse maysters sayden that yf he sawe sonne or mone wythin ten yere he sholde lose the syghte of his eyen. Thenne hit was ordeyned that thys chylde sholde be nourisshed wythin a pytte made in a grete roche, and whan the ten yere were passyd the kyng commaunded that his sone shold be brought forth & that all thynges shold be brought to fore hym by cause he shold knowe the names and the thynges, and thenne they brought to fore hym jewelles, horses and beestys of al maners, and also golde, syluer, precyous stones, and all other thynges. And whan he had demaunded the names of euery thyng, & that the mynystres had tolde hym, he sette nought therby. And whan his fader saw that he retched not of suche thynges, thenne the kyng made to be broughte tofore hym wymmen quayntely arayed, and he demaunded what they were, for they wold not soo lyghtly telle hym, wherof he was anoyed, & after the mayster squyer of the kyng sayd iapyng, that they were deuylls that deceyue men. Thenne the kyng demaunded hym what he lyenest had of al that he had seen, & he answeyrd, Fader, my soule coueyteth noo thyng so moche as the deuyelles that deceyue men. And therefore I suppose that none other thyng shal surmounte thy sone but wymmen, which moeue alle waye to lecherye. ¶ Thenne the kyng put out alle his mynystres, & sette therin to be about his sone right noble & fayre maydens, whyche alweye hym admonested to play, & there were none other that myght speke

ne serue hym. And anone the enchauntour sent to hym the deuyl for to enflame hym, which brennyd the yonge man wythinforth, & the maydens wythoutforth. And whan he felte hym soo strongely trauaylled he was moche angry, & recommaunded hym self alle to god, and he receyued deuyne comforte in suche wyse that al temptacyon departed from hym. ¶ And after this that the kynge sawe that the deuyl had don no thyng, he sent to hym a fayre mayden, a kynges doughter whyche was faderles. To whom this man of god prechyd, and she answerd, Yf thou wylte saue me, and take me aweye fro worshyppynge of thydolles, conioyne the vnto me by couplyng of maryage, for the patryarkes, prophetes, and peter the appostle had wyues. And he sayd to hir, Woman thyse wordes sayest thou now for nought. It apperteyneth wel to crysten men to wedde wyues, but not to them that have promysed to our lord to keye vyrgynyte. ¶ And she sayd to hym, Now be it as thou wylte, but yf thou wylt saue my sowle, graunte to me a lytel requeste, lye wyth me onely this nyght and I promyse to the that to morne I shal be made crysten, for as ye say, the aungels have more ioye in heuen of one synnar doynge penance, thenne on many other. There is grete guerdon due to hym that doth penance & conuerteth hym. Therefore graunte to me onely this requeste, and soo thou shalte saue me. And thenne she began strongly to assaile the toure of hys conscience. ¶ Thenne the deuyl sayd to his felawes, Loo see how this mayde hath strongly put forth that we myght not moeue. Come thenne and lete us knocke strongly ageynst hym syth we fynde now tyme couenable. ¶ And whan the holy yonge man sawe this thyng, & that he was in that caytyfues that the couetyse of hys flesshe admonested hym to synne, & also that he desyred the sauacyon of the mayde by entysing of the deuyl that moeuyd hym, he thenne put hym self to prayer in wepyng and there fyl a slepe, and sawe by a vysyon that he was broughte in to a medowe arayed wyth fayr floures, there where the leuys of the trees demened a swete sounde

whiche came by a wynde agreeable, and therout yssued a merueyllous odour, and the fruyte was right fayr to see, and right delectable of taste, and there were setes of golde and syluer and precyous stones, & the beddes were noble & precyously aourned, & ryght clere water ranne thereby. And after that he entred in to a cyte, of which the walles were of fyne golde and shone by meruayllous clerenesse, and sawe in the ayer somme that sange a songe that neuer cer of mortal man herde lyke. And it was sayd, This is the place of blesyd sayntes. And as they wolde haue had hym thens, he prayed them that they wold lete hym dwelle there. ¶ And they sayd to hym, Thou shalte yet hereafter come hyther wyth grete tranayle yf thou mayst suffre. And after they ledde hym in to a right horryble place ful of al fylthe and stenche & sayd to hym, This is the place of wycked peple. And whan he awoke, hym semed that the beante of that damoyssel was more foull and styunkyng thenne alle the other ordure. And thenne the wycked spyrytes came ageyn to theodose & thenne blamyd them, to whome they sayd, We ranne vpon hym tofore he marked wyth the sygne of the crosse and troubled hym strongelye, & whan he was garnysshed with the sygne of the crosse he persecuted vs by grete force. Thenne theodose came to hym with the kynge and had hoped that he shold haue peruerterd hym, but this enchauntour was taken of hym whome he supposed to haue taken, and was conuerted and receyued baptesme and lyued after an holy lyf. And thenne the kynge was al despayred, and by counceyl of his frendes he delyuerd hym halfe his royaume, and how be it that Joasaphat desyred wyth alle his thought the deserte, yet for to encrece the feythe he receyued the royaume for a certyn tyme, and maad chirches and reysed crosses and conuerted moche people of his royaume to the fayth of Jhesu cryste. And atte last the fader consented to the resons & predycacions of his sone and byleuyd on the feythe of Jhesu cryst, and receyued baptesme & lefte his royaume hole to his sone and entended to werkes of penaunce, and

after fynysshed hys lyf laudably. ¶ And Josaphat ofte warned the kynge barachye that he wolde goo in to deserte, but he was reteyned of the peple longe tyme, but atte laste he fledde aweye into deserte, and as he wente in a deserte he gaf to a pour man his habyte ryal and abode in a ryght poure gowne. And the deuyl made to hym many assaultes, for somtyme he ranne vpon hym wyth a swerde drawen and menaced to smyte yf he lefte not the deserte, and another tyme he apperyd to hym in the forme of a wylde beest and fomed and ranne on hym as he wold have deuoured hym, and thenne Josaphat sayd, Our Lord is myn helpar, I doubte no thyng that man may do me.

And thus Josaphat was two yere vagaunte & erryd in deserte & coude not fynde balaam. And at the laste he fonde a caue and knockyd at the dore and sayd, Fader blesse me, & anone balaam herde the voys of hym & roos up & wente out, and thenne eche kyssed other and embraced stratelye, & were glad of their assemblyng. And after Josaphat recounted to balaam al thysc thynges that were happenyd, and he rendryd and gaue thankynges to god therfore. And Josaphat dwelled there many yeres in grete and meruayllous penaunce, ful of vertues. And whan balaam had accomplysshed hys dayes he restyd in pees aboute the yere of our lord foure hondred and four score. Josaphat lefte his royame the xxv yere of his age, and ledde the lyf of an hermyte fyue and thyrty yere and thenne restyd in pees, ful of vertues, and was buryed by the body of balaam. And whan the kynge barachyas herde of this thyng, he came vnto that same place with a grete companye and toke the bodyes & bare theym wyth moche gerte honoure in to hys cytee where god hath shewed many fayre myracles at the tombe of thysc two precyous bodyes.

THUS ENDETH THE STORY OF BALAAM AND JOSAPHAT.





## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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SINCE the preceding pages were printed, Vol. xxxvi of the Sacred Books of the East, (being Part ii of the *Questions of King Milinda*) and the parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* containing Prof. G. Bühler's renderings of the edicts of Asoka have been published. Both works support my contention in a remarkable manner. Taking the last first. In his able introduction to the pillar edicts, Dr. Bühler writes—"I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Asoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasram and Rupnath edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions based on the *Jñānamārga* or Path of knowledge, prescribe for the people at large, and which is common to the Brahmans, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction of course has forced me to demur against a specially Budhistic interpretation of various words and terms".

In connection with the above, read the following from Mr. R. C. Dutt's *Ancient India* Vol. iii, p. 3.—"The 14 edicts on Rocks appear to have been inscribed in the 13th and 14th years from Asoka's coronation, while the 8 edicts on Pillars were inscribed in the 27th and 28th years. The last of the Pillar edicts is the last expression of the great emperor's ideas and wishes that is available to us." From this it would appear that all the edicts were published by Asoka before he became a Buddhist, and certainly the second and the thirteenth of the Rock edicts, in which reference is made to Antiochus and the other four Greek kings and the messen-

gers, and the conquest of Religion or "Sacred Law" as Dr. Bühler translates *Dharma*. If this be so, and we have the best authority to believe it is, the last vestige of even a plausibility for the statement that Asoka sent Buddhist Missionaries to Egypt, &c., is taken away. In writing the above Mr. Dutt seems to have been altogether oblivious of the Bairut inscription. Dr. Bühler gives a full translation of the whole 14 edicts as engraved on the *shāhbaz-garhī* rock. "Edict xiii, as there given, begins with the words—" King Priyadarsen beloved of the gods being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga." This conquest was the governing sentiment throughout the edict. Hence it is likely it was published not later than the 13th or 14th year of his reign; but that means some fifteen years before he became a Buddhist. This makes it and all the others altogether worthless as evidence concerning the spread of Buddhism.

In the *Questions of King Mulinda*, Alexandria is referred to on three other occasions, Vol. ii, pp. 204, 211, and 269 :—

(1.) "Whether in the land of the Scythians or the Greeks, whether in China or Tartary, whether in Alexandria (*on the Indus*—Rhys Davids adds in foot note) or in Nīkumbha, whether in Benares or in Kosala, whether in Kashmir, or in Gandhara, whether on a mountain top or in the highest heavens." p. 204. (2) "People from Scythia, Bactria, China, and Vilata; people of Uggēni, of Bharukakka, of Benares, of Kosala, and of the border lands; people from Magadha, and Saketa, and Surattha, and the West; from Kotumbara, and Madhura, from Alexandria, Kashmir, and Gandhara". (3) "Just, O King, as a shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas, and go to Vanga, or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Koromandel coast or Further India, or any other place where ships do congregate" p. 269. Such a shipowner sailing to the places

mentioned could take his ship to Alexandria on the Indus, but not to that on the Nile.

To page xxxviii, add as a foot-note, the words—I am assured by missionaries from different parts of India that a Hindu pilgrim would not go near a fellow pilgrim suffering as the Buddhist monk suffered. He would invariably pass on the other side. To such Buddha taught a good lesson much needed but seldom profited by.

To page 38 add the following note. Sir F. Madden in his Edition of the old English versions of the *Gesta Romanorum* published for the Roxburghe Club (1838) writes—"The celebrated work containing the fables of Bidpai was brought from India into Persia about the year 510 and was translated into Pehloi, at the command of Khosru Nouschirévan, by a physician named Barzouyeh. To this version six prefatory chapters were added by Buzurdjmihr, the minister of Khosru, in one of which, to illustrate some moral reflections on the heedless pursuits of mankind, is introduced the apologue of the man who, flying from a furious beast, descends into a pit, where suspended from the branch of a tree, and resting his feet on the heads of four serpents, he is so captivated by the sight of some honey as to disregard the operations of two rats, who gnaw the root of the tree until he falls into the abyss, only to be swallowed by the jaws of a dragon already extended to receive him.' Sydney J. H. Hertridge, after quoting the above in the Introduction to his "Early English Versions of the *Gesta Romanorum*," p. ix, adds—"Then follows the *moralitas*:—The pit is the world, the four serpents are the humours which compose the human body; the rats are day and night, the succession of which consumes our life; the honey is the enjoyment of the senses; and the dragon is death. With very slight alterations this morality is literally the same that occurs in the Latin printed Editions of the *Gesta* cap. 168 [the 30th story of the English MS. Harl. 7333. p. 109 of Hertridge of the E. E. *Gesta*] and it is only by the addition



of the ladder, interpreted *penance*, that we recognize an addition of the monkish writer to make the story applicable to the Christian system of theology. Here then is a clear proof that these apologues, when they passed into Europe, became probably the original patterns of a mode of exposition which was subsequently carried to such excess as to incur the sarcasm of Erasmus and the censure of Luther. The text of the two versions of the story are from the Harl MS. 7333 and the Addit. M. S. 9066, leaf 62. The Latin original which must have been compiled about 1700 A. D., commences the story with the phrase "*Barluam narrat*".

For Shinar in course of the story *read* Sennar, and for Jehosaphat Joasaph.

- i. 17 *For* in the 16th and 17th centuries, *read* early in the eighteenth century.
- xl. 2 *For* marry *read* merry.
- xli. 14 *For* He said Luke vi. 31, *read* He said (Luke vi. 31)—
- xlix. 3 *For* Christians *read* Christian.
- l. 18 *For* cemetry *read* cemetery.
- lii. 2nd line from bottom *for* cannon (*sic*), *read* canon (*sic*).
- liii. last line *for* Barlaam *read* Balaam.
- lxi. 12 *For* 17th century *read* 18th century.
- lxi. 19 *For* *Attenglische* *read* *Altenglische*.
- 34. 3 *For* you *read* your. For the story given in this and the following page see two versions of the same story in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Harl. MS. 7333 and Addit. MS. 9066, leaf 57, back, printed by S. J. Herrtage as story xxxiii, p. 127. See note pp. 469-470.
- 41. 8 *For* cruified *read* crucified.
- 42. 17 *After* bed *shut* the quotation.
- 43. 18 *För* heard, it *read* heard it, .
- 52. 7 *Shut* the quotation *after* teacher.
- 84. 7        „                „                „                changed.

## APPENDIX.

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- A. Barlaam and Josaphat.—Vernon MS.
- B. De sanctis Berlam and Josaphat.—Harley MS. 4196.
- C. Barlaam & Josaphat.—Bodleian MS. 779.

Notes on the above by the Rev. John Morrison, B. D.,  
Principal General Assembly Institution, Fellow Calcutta  
University, &c.

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## A. Barlaam & Josaphat.

From the Vernon Ms. f. 100.

**A** Good mon þer was . and a cleue  
 A clerk men callen . Jon Damascene  
 Compiled þe stori in good faaf  
 Of Barlaam . and kyng Josafaph.  
 5 Hou Barlaam . torned him to þe ffey  
 To bi leue . in God verrey.  
 Inde sum tyme . as men tellen  
 Was ful of Monkes . and cristen men  
 A. kyng þer ros . wip gret yr  
 10 þat men called . Aduenyr.  
 þat porsuwed . Mest. and . Lest.  
 Of Cristen Men . but Monkes mest.  
 Hit bi fel . as þe Bok seis  
 þat a gret Maister . of þe kynges  
 paleis  
 15 þat was þe kynges . grette frende  
 þorwh grace . þat god him penne  
 sende  
 forsok þe Real dwellyng  
 And tok on Monkes cloþing.  
 Whon þe kyng herde þat . he  
 was wroy  
 20 He let him seche . wip outhen op  
 In desertes . þat ilke stounde  
 And vnnæþe . men him þo founde.  
 Whon he was brouht . to fore  
 þe kyng  
 He hedde of him . gret wondryng.  
 25 þor he hedde on . so feble cloþing .

And lene was waxen . to his seoyng.  
 þat was wont . to beo ful gay.  
 In his cloþinge . and opur aray.  
 And among opure more . and lesse  
 30 Muche he hedde . of gret Richesse.  
 þe kyng þen him . gon vb breide  
 A. wood of witte . and fol he seide  
 Whi hast, þou torned . þin honour  
 In to disese . and such tristour.  
 35 To eueri child . þat goþ bi þe wëy  
 þou art his scorn . and his pley.  
 þe Monk him onswered . riht  
 sone þere  
 Of þis zif þou wolt haue . onswere  
 þyn Enemys alle þou voyde a wey  
 40 And penne my skille . i schal þe sey  
 þe kyng asked him . þen þries.  
 Whuche weren . his Enemys.  
 And he him tolde . wip outhen offense  
 þat wrappe hit was . and  
 concupiscence  
 45 þeose letten . in certeyn  
 þat soþnesse . may not beo seyn  
 Tak þerfore . to þyn audience  
 Equite . and eke prudence  
 As þou seist : so mot hit beo  
 50 Qwaþ þe kyng . and þenne seide he  
 Vnwyse men . dispisen here  
 þinges þat ben . as þei nougt were

And pinges pat ben not . in certeyne  
As pouh pei were . to take hem  
pei peyne  
95 He pat nap not tasted . wip meke-  
nesse  
Of pinges pat ben . pe swetnesse.  
Of pinges pat ben not . wip outen les.  
He may not lerne . pe soynes.  
pe Monk him tolde eke . wip  
deuocioun  
60 Muchel of pefeip . of pe Incarnacioun  
penne pe kyng hedde . pis seying  
Nedde I . beo hoten pe . at pe  
beginning  
I schulde don out . of my counsayl.  
Wrappe : i sey wip outen fayl.  
65 To fuir pi bodi . schulde beo sent.  
Boe flesch and bon . per to beo brent  
fleo faste perfere . out of my siht  
Lest i pe spille . nou a non riht.  
fful serewful . he went his way.  
70 pat he nas not . i Martred pat day.  
pe kyng . child hedde non  
But some aftur . his wyf hedde on.  
A . knawe child . pat wel was kept  
And Josafaph . his nome was clept.  
75 pe kyng let sende . at pat tyde.  
To calle pe peple . on vche syde  
ffor pat pei schulden . on heore gyse  
To heore goddus . do sacrificye  
And offre . for pat ilke burpe  
80 Of his sone . wip muchel murpe  
And fftti . vppon a cumpaignye  
He gedered . of clerkes . of  
astronomye  
And asked hem . swipe faste wip alle  
Of pat child . what schulde bi falle  
85 pei onswerd . wel nyh euerichon.  
pat he schulde beo . A mihti mon.  
Bope of Richesse . and of miht  
In pis world . bope day . and niht.  
But on per was . wysore parde.  
90 pat seide : pis child pas is boren to pe  
In pi kyngdom . schal he not be  
But in a wel bettere . so mot i pe

ffor as i trouwe . at pe laste.  
Of pe cristene feip . pat pu  
pursuwest faste  
95 He schal beo . a worschipere  
And per of . a gret lernere  
He seide not pus . of him self al on.  
But of godus . Inspiracion.  
Whon pe kyng . pis wordus hed  
herd.  
100 fforsope he wox . ful sore a ferd  
Doun in pat Cite . he let buylde  
A wel feir paleis . for pat childe.  
pat was maad . of wel queynte gin  
And putte pe child . to dwelle per in  
105 And wip him . gong folk . ful feir.  
Wip him to beo . at his repeer.  
And bad pei schulde him lete .  
wite ne se  
Of deep . ne . Elde . ne pouerte  
Ne no ping elles . pat euer was maad  
110 pat miht his chere mak vn glad.  
But pat pei schulde him . euer schewe  
Of alle Murphus . olde . and newe  
pat his pouzt were . ful of lykyng  
And penke noying . of tyme comyng  
115 gif eny wox seek . pat him were about  
He had . pei schulde him . a non  
caste out  
And a nopur . hol man.  
Put in to his offys pan  
And pat for no pin . as he hem trist  
120 pei schulde to him speke . nouzt  
of crist  
pat same tyme dwelled . wip pe kyng  
A good cristene mon in liuyng .  
But per of . no wiht . per wust  
And among alle pe princes . he  
was mest.  
125 On a tyme . wip outen lesyng.  
As he wente wip pe kyng . an  
huntyng  
He sauh a pore mon . god hit wot  
Ligge : a best hedde i hurt his foot  
He him preyed . for godus sake  
130 pat he wolde him . to him take.

And seide . pau i speke nou but luyte  
 In sum ping . I may pe prophite  
 pe kniht seide . sire parde  
 Gladliche schal i take pe . to me  
 135 But what profyt . in pe schal i fynde  
 Haue i nou . noping in mynde.  
 pe pore seide . I. am a Leche  
 Of wordus : gif eny beo hurt . wip  
 speche.

I. con riht wel a fyn  
 140 Don couenable Medieyn  
 pe kniht of his speche . non  
 hede toke.  
 But for godus loue . he dude to  
 him loke  
 ffor pis kniht hedde . grace to  
 pe kyng  
 Oyr hedden enyye . to his doying  
 145 pei accused him . to pe kyng pan  
 pat he was bi comen . a cristen man  
 And pat al his . disyng.  
 Was a bouete . to bi kyng.  
 And pat he drouh pe peple perfore  
 150 Wel neih to him . bope lasse . and  
 more

pei seiden . kyng wip outhen wyre  
 pe sope to wite . gif pou desyre  
 To him in priuite . mak Mende  
 Hou pat pis world . schal taken  
 an ende

155 And pou wolt forsake . worldus blis  
 And Monkes Abyte . take i wis  
 Whuche pou hast . vnkunnyngliche  
 Pursuwed herto fore . bisyliche  
 And penne schalt pou riht se

160 On what manere . onswere wol he  
 pe kyng dude . as pei him bad  
 But pe kniht on gyle . no pouzt had  
 But was so glad . of his seyng  
 pe teres doun gunne . faste to flynge  
 165 And worschuped him . for his pur-  
 pose

And spisede pe world . wip outhen  
 glose  
 He counselled him eke . swipe faste

pat : to folfulle . he schulde in haste  
 Whon he pe kyng . pus hadde told  
 170 pe kyng was pe woodur . a pousund  
 fold

And lceued wel . pe mennes tellyng  
 But zit to him . seide he no ping.

PE kniht parceined . pouh pat tym  
 pat for his wordus . he wrapped him  
 175 Sumwhat a ferd . a wei he wende  
 And of pe leche of wordus he  
 hedde mynde

To him he wente . a non riht  
 And tolde him al to gedere . a pliht  
 pe leche of wordus : seide . wite pou  
 180 pe kyng hap suspeciu . to pe nou  
 pat pou seidest so . and zaf pat dom  
 Is to haue . his kyngdom.

Let schaue perfore . pi berd anon.  
 And do away pi clopus . euerichon.  
 185 And aftur pat . do on an heire  
 pen to pe kyng . loke pou repeyre  
 To Morwe erly . and whon pou  
 comest in .

Whon pe kyng askep pe . of pin engyn  
 pou schalt onswere . sire lo her me.  
 190 Al redi . forte suwe pe,  
 Al pauh pe wey . beo sumwhat hard.  
 pat pou coueytest . and nost  
 whodurward

Al pe while . I. am wip pe  
 To me . me pinkeþ hit mai liht be  
 195 As I. haue ben wip ow . in prosperite  
 Riht so schal I. in aduersite  
 Lo me her . al redi

Whi tariest pou . tel me verreyli.  
 pe kniht dude . as pe leche him bad  
 200 pe kyng him herde . and was riht glad  
 And blamed pe false men . pat tym.  
 pat hedde acused . pe kniht to him  
 And dude him worschipe . euermore  
 More pen euere . he dude bi fore.

205 **J**osaphat . pe kynges sone  
 pat in pe paleis . was put to wone

- Waxen was . of flourtene yer of age  
 And wel i tauht . and wonder sage  
 Gret wondur hedde . in his purpose
- 210 Whi his fadur . heold him . so close  
 he called a seruaunt . in priuete  
 And asked him . whi pat mihte be  
 And seide he was . in heuinesse .  
 so grete  
 pat he nedde talent . to drinke . ne  
 mete
- 215 ffor pat he mihte not . passe per oute  
 To walke . and take pe Eir . a boutte.  
 Whon his fadur . herde of pis  
 perfore he was . sori i wis.  
 And sende . horses fro his stable
- 220 pat weren feire . and couenable  
 And folk to fore him . forte pleye  
 And for bad . pat no foul ping in  
 pe weye  
 Schulde him mete . for no ping  
 To lette his murpe . and his lykyng.
- 225 **H**It bifel . vppon a day.  
 pe child him wente . forte play  
 Riht as hit hedde ben . for pe nones  
 A. Blynd Mon . and a Mesel . him.  
 mette at ones.  
 Whon he hem saih . al in gret fore
- 230 He asked a non . what pei were  
 And what hem eiled . to fare so  
 His seruauns . onswered him po  
 peos ben seknesses . pat fallen  
 on men  
 And Josafaht . asked hem pen.
- 235 Wheper to alle men . so bi fel.  
 Such passions . bi on skil.  
 pei seiden nay . and pen asked he  
 Wheper such men . pat suffred so be  
 Wusten to fore . of heore wo
- 240 To fore hond . ar hit were so.  
 Ourpur elles . pat sodeynliche  
 Such passions fallen . so wonderliche  
 And pei onswerd . hol and some  
 Who may wite pinges . pat be  
 to come
- 245 pe child bi gon . to waxe sori  
 ffor pat he hedde herd . sikerli
- A** Nopur tyme . bi fel pis cas  
 An old Mon he saiz . w<sup>t</sup> ariueled fas.  
 pat croked backed . was also
- 250 And longe tep . hedde perto  
 pat wlasschede also . wip his speche  
 pe child wox a ferd . and bad men  
 him teche  
 whi pat pulke mon . ferde so  
 pei seiden . elde him hedde ouer go
- 255 He asked . what his ende schulde be  
 And pei seiden dep . wip oute pite  
 He asked wheper summe schulde  
 die oralle  
 And pei onswerd . bope grete and  
 smallle  
 He asked hem . in hou mony zeres pan
- 260 Suche pinges wolde . bi falle on man.  
 pei onswerd . in pe fourscore yer.  
 Or elles . in an hundred in feer  
 A Mon schulde falle . in to elde  
 And for zete . Maners of welde
- 265 And penne biginney . to schorte  
 his brep  
 And sone aftur . suwey dep  
 Whon Josafaht . hedde herd al pis  
 His herte was . desolat iwis  
 And muche disiret . of pis to lere
- 270 But to his fadur . he made good  
 chere.
- A** Monk of ffame . and lyf parfyte  
 pat God to serue . hedde gret dilyte  
 Dwelled in desert . pat feweneren war  
 Of pe lond . pat men callen . sennar
- 275 Men called him . Barlaam  
 He was holy . and of good ffaam.  
 Beo spirit he wuste alle . ping.  
 p<sup>t</sup> was don a boutte Josafath . p<sup>t</sup> sone  
 of pe kyng.  
 Heclopud him . in Marchaundes wysse
- 280 And to pat Cite went . beo asise  
 Whon he to pe household . com .

pe kynges sone Mayster . he fond  
   at hom.  
 Sire he seide . for as muchel as . I.  
 Am a Marchaunt sikerly.  
 285 I. telle pe sire . for pe none  
       pat I. haue . a precious stone  
       forte selle . pat wole ȝine liht  
       To Men pat han . lost heore ege siht  
       And pe ston wole . also eke  
 290 Make doumbe men . forte speke.  
       And also in to hem . pat haue no wit  
       Gret wisdom . holde wol hit  
       Led me nou . to pe kynges sone.  
       And him . hit take . ischal a nonc.

295 PE childes Mayster seide . wip  
   reuerence  
       pou semest a mon . of sobreprudence  
       But what so euer beo . in pi pouht.  
       pi wordus wip prudence . acordeþ  
   nouht.  
       Neuerpeles of stones . I. haue  
   knowyng.  
 300 Schewh forþ pi ston . to my seoyng.  
       And ȝif hit beo prooued such . as  
   p<sup>n</sup> seist nou  
       Of pe kynges sone . worschipe haue  
   schaltou

BArlaam . caste on him . his vuwe  
       And seiþ my ston . hap such vertuwe  
 305 pat ȝif a Mon may not . riht wel so  
       And also beo not . in Chastite  
       • Bi holde pat ston . he mihte  
   verreylye  
       Leose al þe' siht . of his eige.  
       And I my self . seo riht nou here  
 310 pat pin egen . ben not riht clere  
       But i haue herd . and ofte i cast  
       pat pe kynges sone is chast.  
       And hole eizen hap . and feir  
       Such mon bi semep . þo ben an heir.  
 315 ȝif pat beo soþ sire . quap þe Mon  
       I preye þe . schewh me not þe ston  
       for myn eizen . beo not al hole

And of sunnes . I. haue a mole.  
       pat he tolde . pe kyng sone  
 320 And brouht him in . to hyn anone  
       whon pat he was . in i lad  
       And þe kyng reuerentliche . him  
   receyued had.  
       Barlaam seide . to pe kyng.  
       hit is to a louwe . ȝor doying  
 325 for pat pou toke non hede  
       To pat . pat was wip outhen luytel  
   hede  
       þerbi . in þyn oune sale  
       I. schal pe telle . aluytel tale

A Gret kyng . pat muchel was drad  
 330 In a Guildene Cart . was lad  
       Opur while . he mette wip Men  
       pat flebliche were cloped . and of  
   face len  
       þen wolde he lepe down . of his Cart  
       And falle a down . at heor fet ful  
   smart  
 335 And worschipe hem . as men of blisse  
       Aftur pat , arys vp . and penne  
   hem kisse  
       His grete lordus . euerichon  
       per of hedden . Indignacion.  
       pei dorste not speke . to him ful wel  
 340 But to his broþur . pei tolden  
   eueridel  
       hou pat he schende . his worþinesse  
       wip to muchel . Mekenesse  
       pe kynges broþur . wip outhen more  
       A non blamed . pe kyng perfore  
 345 pe kyng hedde . such a Maner  
   custum.  
       pat whon a Mon . schulde dye be dom.  
       pe kyng wolde sende . to his gate  
       A. Crior . to stonde þer ate.  
       Wip a Trompe . for to blowe  
 350 pat alle men mihte hit . wel i knowe  
       At Euensonge . sone in a prow  
       He sende a Mon . pe Trompe to blowe  
       At his oune broþur gate  
       perfore he wox . anon almate.



- 355 pat niht alepthe nouzt . verreyment  
But mad redi . his Testament.  
Vppon þe morewen . wip outhen lac  
He and his wyf . i clopud in blac  
And his children alle . also.
- 360 To þe kynges paleis . comen þo  
Wip a sori cher . I. wen.  
But þe kyng . let bringe hem In.  
And seide a : fol . siþen þou wustest  
wel  
pat þou . hast trespass . neuer . adel  
365 To þi broperes . ounne Criour.  
þ<sup>t</sup> pou dreeddest him . so sore pat our  
Whi . schulde not I. drede . w<sup>t</sup> wil  
and word.  
þe fore goeres of my lord.  
To whom i chaue . singed so grete  
370 pat wip sounyng trompe . me dop  
prete.  
pat signifyep . pat i schal dye.  
And dredful Jugement . seo wipeize.  
ffour schrines . þe kyng let make  
of Mold  
And tweyne he keuered . al wip gold.
- 375 And fulled hem . al for þe nones  
fful of dede mennes . bones.  
þe toþur tweyne . he let en oynte  
Wippich wip outhen . at eueri poynte.  
And putte wip Inne hem . for þe  
nones
- 380 Gemmes . and moni precious stones.  
þen calle his lordus . alle he bad  
pat to his broþur . on him pleynd  
had.  
To fore hem he sette . þe schrines  
ffoure  
And asked at hem . in pat houre  
385 Whuche þe more precious . þei holde.  
þei seiden . þulke pat weren heled  
wip golde.  
þe kyng hem let vndon . pat  
stounde  
And þei stonken . as an hounde  
þe kyng to hem . seide þen  
390 þeos schrines ben lyk . to suche men  
pat ben i cloped . preciousliche  
And w<sup>t</sup> Inne for sinne . stynken  
fouliche.  
þenne þe kyng bad . in certeyn  
Men schulde vndon . þo toþur tweyn  
395 Out of hem sprong . a sauour  
Swettur . þen eny Rose flour.  
þe kyng seide þen . þeose ben liche  
To þe pore men . sopliche  
pat i haue worschiped . her bi foren  
400 Whon ȝe per of . hedden scorn.  
ffor þauh þei were . but feble clope  
And to riche men . ben lope  
wip Inne þei ben . þouȝ þei nouzt  
schewe  
fful of sauour . of gode vertuwe  
405 But ȝe taken . onliche . hede to pinge  
pat is wip outhen . to ȝour seinge  
But aftur þ<sup>t</sup> quap Barlaam . to þe  
kyng parde  
þou wrouhtest whon þ<sup>u</sup> receyuedest  
me.  
ÞEn Barlaam tolde . hou þe world  
mad was
- 410 And of Adames . furste trespas.  
And of þe swete . Incarnacione  
Of Jhesu Crist . Godus ounne sone  
Of his passiun . and Resurecciun  
he made þo . a long sarmun.
- 415 And eke of þe day . of dome.  
Wher gode . and vuele . schul bi  
come  
he blamed muchel . in his seyzing  
Of Maumetes . honouryng.  
And of suche Mennes folye  
420 þis saumple he tolde . certeynlye.  
An Archer enes . went him to pleye  
A luytel Brid . he tok bi þe weye  
pat was boþe . gentil . and smal.  
Men callen hit . a nihtingal.  
425 Whon þat he wolde . hit haue sleyn  
þe Brid seide . to him a ȝeyn.  
What schal hit mon . profyte þe.  
þauh þat þou . sle nou me.  
Wip me þou maigt not . þi wombe fille.

130 perfore gif þu woldust . wip god wille  
 Lete me go nou . forte lyue  
 preo wisdames . ischulde þe giue.  
 And gif pou kepe hem . wip þi wit  
 pou schalt fynde . in hem profit.

135 he was a ferd . of þat speche  
 But gif þat Brid . him wolde so techen  
 he be hihte hire . riht þo  
 To lete hire fleo . for euer mo.  
 þe Brid seide . beo not aboute to  
 cacche

140 þing þat pou . maizt not lacche  
 Ne for þing . þat is ilore  
 Ne mai be founde . serwe nouȝt  
 perfore.

A. word þat is . nouȝt to by leue  
 Credence perto . loke pou ne ȝeue

145 Kep þeos preo pinges . eueridel  
 And euermore . þe schal be wel.  
 þe Archer penne . as he be hiht  
 Let þe Brid . hane hire fliht.

þe Nihtingale fleyh . a boutte faste  
 150 And to þe Archer seide atte laste  
 Wo is þe . Mon : gif pou hit wost  
 Vuel counseil . hap mad þe lost  
 A gret tresur . sikerly.  
 ffor þer is . in my body.

155 A Margeri ston . in god fey  
 Grettor þen . an Ostriches eig.  
 Whon þat þe mon . herfle þis  
 Sori i nouh . he was i wis.

þat he hedde leten . hire go so  
 160 And hire to take . he peyned him þo  
 Brid he seide . loke pou ne lete  
 Cum to myn hous . and fet þe mete  
 And þer schaltou hane . riȝt inouh  
 And ben lete go . wip outen wouh.

165 þen seide to him . þe Nihtingale.  
 Ich wot þou art . a fool at al  
 ffor of al þat enere . i þe tauht  
 I seo hit profyter . þe riht nauht.

Nou for me . þat pou hast lost  
 170 þou art sori . wel þou wost.  
 And þou art aboute . to cacche me  
 And wost riht wel . hit nil not be.

pou wenest also . in good feyȝ  
 þat a Margeri ston . as an Ostriches  
 eyȝ

175 Wip inne my bodi beo iset  
 Whon al my bodi . nis not so gret.  
 fforsoþe riht so . beop þis foles  
 þat bi leuen . in false ydoles  
 þei worchipe . hem

180 Whos Makers . þei ben  
 And hem þat þei kepen  
 heore kepers . þei clepen.

þEn . he dispised . wip al his wit  
 Aȝein þis worldes . diseyuable dilyt.

185 And a ȝeynes . þe vanyte  
 Mony ensaumples . þenne tolde he  
 And þenne he seide . on þis maneer.  
 þei þat disiren . bodilich delyces heer.  
 And leten heore soulus for hungur  
 dye

190 þei ben lyk . sikerlye  
 To a Mon i seye . wip outen scorn  
 þat flowen wolde for an vnicorn  
 ffor þat he schulde . him nouht de-  
 noure

And hized so faste . in þat vre  
 195 þat al aȝeyn his owne wil  
 In to a gret put he fl.  
 But riht in his fallyng  
 Bi a luytel bosk . he tok hishondlyng  
 And set his feet . on a slidri bas

200 þat neih him . þat tyme was.  
 he loket a boutte . and tok his auys.  
 þen was he war . of twei Mys.  
 þat on . was whit . þat opur blac . as  
 a Boote

But hope þei gnouwen . vppon þe Roote  
 205 Of þat luttul Busk . þat he heold  
 wip mein

þat hit was . al most a tweyn.  
 In þe ground of þat put . he say.  
 Wher spittyng fuir . a Dragoun lay.  
 Wip open Meup . a Mon to swoiwe

210 Al redi was . and gon to walwe  
 Vndur þat Bas . þat his feet stod on

- preo Eddres hedes . he seih a non.  
 He loket vp . wip his egen twe  
 And on pe Bowes of pe Bosk . sauh he  
 . . . . . pe  
 515 A gobet of hony . as him phougt.  
 pat made him forzete . pat he ne  
 . . . . . rouht  
 Of pat peril . pat he hedde sein  
 pat swetnesse to take . he gan  
 . . . . . him pein.  
 Beo pis vnicorn . wip outhen wer  
 520 Dep . is vndurstonden heer  
 pat pursuwer . Mon ful faste  
 And coueytey to take him . atte  
 . . . . . laste.  
 . . . . . pe put is . pe world i wi  
 . . . . . fful of al maner . of wikkednis  
 525 pe luytel Bosk . is Monnes lyf  
 . . . . . ful riht  
 pat bi pe vres of pe day . and pe niht  
 As bi a blac Mous . and a whit  
 Is euere a boutte . doun to bi kit.  
 . . . . . pe Baas . wip foure Eddres hedes  
 . . . . . kene  
 530 Is Monnes bodi wip outhen wene  
 pat of pe four Elemens . is mad  
 pe whuche . whon pei ben vuel lad  
 pe bond . a non . is vnbounde.  
 Beowenewer . so strong on grounde.  
 535 pe ferful Dragun . is pe Mouy  
 . . . . . of helle  
 pat coueytey . men to danoure . and  
 . . . . . quelle  
 . . . . . pe swetnes of pat Bosk . also  
 Is deceyuable delyt . of pis world  
 . . . . . vr fo.  
 Beo pe whuche . a mon is blent.  
 540 To knowe perels . pat men ban  
 . . . . . schent.  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . Den Barlaam . in pat same sale  
 Tolde pe kyng . a neyur tale  
 . . . . . Sin kyng he seide . wite wel . ge  
 . . . . . pat pe louere of pis world . lyk beo  
 545 To a Mon pat hedde . frendes preo.  
 And on of hem . more pen him sel  
 . . . . . louede he.  
 pe seconnde . as him self . i wis.  
 pe pridde . lasse pen him self.  
 . . . . . pat is  
 As hos seip . pat was riht nouht.  
 550 he him louede . in dede or pouht  
 pis Mon ful . in gret peril.  
 pe kyng let him somne . bi skil.  
 . . . . . A non to his furste frende  
 He ran faste . and forp gan wende  
 555 And tolde him hou he was bi stadde  
 And hou muche . he him loued hadde  
 pe topur onswerde . ne wot not I.  
 Who pat pou art . sikerly.  
 Oyr frendes . I haue in fay.  
 560 Wip whuche . I moste me glade  
 . . . . . to day.  
 pe whuche . fro pis tyme forp  
 Schul beo my frendes euere . wory  
 Neuerpeles . haue you nou here  
 Twei luttel sehurtus . y mad of here  
 565 Wip pe whuche . you maizt sikerly  
 Keuere sumwhat . pi bodi  
 . . . . . Confus a wei . pen gon he wende  
 Til he com to . his secunde frende.  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [480 lines lost].  
 . . . . .  
 I . schaff lete set vp . verreyliche  
 570 An ymage of gold . al to pe liche  
 pat men mowen offren . alle perto  
 . . . . . As we to vre goddus . ben wont to  
 . . . . . do.  
 To pe kyng . he seide pen  
 from pi some . remuwe alle men  
 575 And feire wynnmen . of god arrayt  
 Loke . pen sende in . him forte paye  
 . . . . . pat . pei . al . way . mowe beo wip him  
 . . . . . him . to . serue . bope . tyde and tym  
 . . . . . And of my spirites . I schal send  
 . . . . . hym on.  
 580 pat him schal so hete . bodi and bot  
 pat he schal haue . lykyng and will  
 . . . . . Wip wommon . his lyking . to folille

- A zong mon . ne mai noþing . so sone  
bi gyle .  
As wommons face . whon heo doþ  
smyle .
- 85 **F**Or sum tyme . þer was a kyng  
pat hedde a sone . pat was z yng .  
Wyseleches seiden . sir kyng wite 3e  
pat pi sone . schal blynd be  
zif he seo liht . of sonne or mone  
90 Til ten 3er . beo ouer gone .  
þe kyng let make . a deop holet  
In a Roche of ston . and him þer set .  
Til pat ten 3er . weore ouer gon  
pat sonne . ne mone . sauh he non .  
95 þen þe kyng lette . to fore him bringe  
Sumwhat . of al maner ping .  
Of alle þe pinges . he asked þe name  
And þei him tolden . wiþ outen blame .  
þe child asked ek . wiþ dreri chere .  
00 What name . pat wymmen beere .  
A seruauht onswerd . in murþe pat  
while  
Deueles þei ben . Men to be gyle .  
þe kyng asked . his sone also  
What ping . him lyked best . of alle þo  
95 What shuld i loue ffader . seide  
he þen  
But þe deueles . pat bi gylen men .  
In no ping elles . of peosè so sone  
Mi wille is chaufed . but on hem one .  
Whon he pis tale . to þe kyng  
hedde told .  
10 Wite wel sire he seide . and beo bold .  
þou schalt not chaunge . pi sones cher  
But onliche . on pis maner .  
þe kyng dude aftur . his teehing .  
And ordeynd feir wimmen . wiþ  
cleue cloying .  
15 serue his sone . al him aboute  
And putte alle men . from him oute .  
þe wymmen duden . al heore wil  
parde  
ffor to attame . his chastite
- he nedde nou3t . on to bi holde  
620 Ne to speke wiþ . but hem so bolde .  
pis clerk þan . his craft bi gan .  
A wikked spirit set . in Josafath þan  
pat in his herte . a fuir hedde tent .  
þe maidens siht . wiþ outen him brent .  
625 Whon he sau3 . pat he was so  
bi stad .  
I . troubled he was . and mourning  
mad .  
And to god he dude . him self  
comende  
pat cumfort . and counseil . him sone  
sende .  
pat dilyuered . him anon  
630 ffrom pat foul . temptacion .  
Aftur pat . to him was sent  
A kynges feirdouhtur . verreyment .  
pat was in pis world . fadur les  
þen he hir preched . of godnes .  
635 And heo onswerde . wiþ outen Ire  
zif þat þou haue . gret dysyre  
To torne me fro . ydoles worschipping  
Joyne me to þe . wiþ weddyng .  
ffor cristen men vsen . such doying .  
640 And preysen such maner . of lyuung .  
Patriarkes . and prophetes also  
And peter þe apostel . hedde wyf  
þer to  
Josafath seide . to hire a 3eyn .  
pis þou me tellest . al in veyn .  
645 hit is soffred . to cristen men .  
wedded to be .  
But not to hem . pat han auouwed  
chastite  
heo onswerde . to him þo  
As þou wolt . þeo hit so .  
zif þou dysyre . my soule to saue  
650 Graunte me . pat i schal . of þe hauo  
Ligge bi mi . pis ilke niht .  
And cristene me . to morwe ful riht .  
ffor seppis 3e seyn . pat muchel  
ioye and blis  
Is to Angeles . of sunfol mon . pat  
turned is

655 And doþ penaunce. for his misdede  
Me pinkeþ . þæt þe auctour þer of  
is worpi mede

Assente ones . to þat i seye to þe  
and riht so maiht þou . saue me.

þis mayden made . assautes foule  
660 To þe tour . of þis Monnes soule  
þe fend þen . to his felawes forsop  
Seide . seo ȝe not . hou þis wommon  
doþ.

heo hæp sumwhat . squached his tour  
þat we mihte not meue . wip no stour  
665 Now is tyme . for þe nones  
falle we vpon him . alle at ones.

**J**osafath saih wel in his pouht  
þat in to mischef . he was brouht  
ffor Couetyse . stured him fast.  
670 And þe soule hele of þe Maiden .

mad him a gast  
he was harde i meued . þerfore  
he preyed to god . and wepte ful sore  
þus as he preyed . he fell a slepyng  
þen sauh he . in his metyng

675 þat he was lad . In to a Medewe  
fful of alle floures . white . Bleu &  
ȝelwe  
þer herde he leues of tren .

wonderliche.  
Sounen . as voyses . Muriliche.  
Softs wynde . þe leues to meue

680 Wondur swete sauour . þæt place  
dude ȝene  
þe feireste fruit . to monnes siht  
And of sauour . desirable a riht  
þer weren seetes . mony on.  
Of Seluer . and Gold . and precious  
ston

685 Beddes a rayed . of riche aray  
Schynindeas gold . boþe niht and day.  
Clere watres . Rennynde be syde  
Murie þought him . þer þat tyde  
þey ladde him þenne . in to a Citée  
690 þe walles seemed . of gold to be

þat schyneden . wondur brihtly  
Spirites . he herde murily  
Such maner of song . synge pere  
þat non eorþly non . herde wip E

695 A vois to him . seide þen.

þis is þe place . of blessed Men.  
þei wolde him haue lad . forþ full  
snelle

he preyed þat he moste . stille  
þer dwelle

þei onswerden . and seiden þo  
700 Wip muche trauayl . þa schalt en  
hider vs to.

Aftur þat . þei him led.

To a foul . derk sted.

fful of alle wrecchednesse

Of fulpe . and of wikkednesse

705 þei to him þenne . seide hit was

þis is . þe vnrihtwisnesses plas.

Whon he a wok . of his slepyng

þe feirnes of þat damysel . and

hire cloyng

Semed to him . at o worde

710 ffoulore þenne . þen eny torde

Whon þe wikked spirites . aftur

þis cas

Weoren gon a ȝeyn . to Theodas

he hem blamed . bitterly

And þei onswerden . schortly.

715 And seiden alle . wip o vois

Or he hedde i mad . þe signe of

þe crois

Strongliche . we on him fille

Alle at ones . him to spille.

But whon he . þe signe i mad hadd

720 he pursuwed us . and we weren

madde

þen Theodas . wip þat chylde

Went in to þe kyng . so wylde

Wip his craft . al and some

He wende him . to haue ouercome

725 But Josafath . þat same tym

Wip his techyng . ouereom hym.

And cristendom . (he) tok perfore

And liued goodlyf . after . euermore

þe kyng bi counseil . of his  
frendes euerichon  
3af his sone half his kyndom . anon.  
pauh his wille weore . to desert to

go  
Neuerþeles þat part of þe kyndom .

tolde he þe  
þe cristene feiþ . to multiþye  
And bulde chirches . and crosses  
mony

And tornede . muche folk to crist  
Cristen to beo . on him to trist  
Atte last . poruh prechyng of his sone  
þe kyng . cristendom . hedde y nome  
And bi tok him þe kyndom . hol

to dispence

And 3af him self . al to penytence  
Whon God . aftur him dude sende  
he dyede . and made a feir ende

**J**osafath aftur . a non wip hize  
Wolde ha flowen a wey . lik kyng  
Barachye.

þe peple him toke . ofte a3eyn  
Andatte laste he dude so . incerteyn  
In to desert wente . aftur his lykyng  
And 3af þe to spore mon . his  
kynges cloþing.

And wip þe pore monnes . cloþus  
he cloþud him self . wip outhen opus.  
þe deuþ to him hedde . gret Envy  
And made to him . assautes manye  
Opurwhile . wip a naked sward  
He manaced him . to beo a ferd.

Opurwhile . informe of wyldbeestes  
Grennyng on him . wip mony chestes.  
But his orisoun was penne al way  
þis vers . þat i schal 3ow say.  
Vr lord is myn help . and my speðe

760 What mon schal to me do . schal  
i not drede

Two 3er he dwelled . in desert.  
he fond not Barlaam . in priuete  
ne apert

Atte laste . an holet he fonde  
And to fore . he gan stille stonde

765 And seide fadur . wip outhen misse  
Blesse me nou . gode fader Blesso  
Whon Barlaam herde . his voys so  
Out þen to him . he ran ful pro  
per was cluppyng . and cussyng.

770 And muche Joye . at heore metyng.

**J**osafath tolde Barlaam þat day  
Al þat him bi ful . syn he him last say  
Barlaam þonked god . deuoutliche  
þat hedde him kept . so witerliche

775 Josafath dwelled þere . 3eres mony on  
In Abstinence . and deuocioun.  
And Barlam . as god wolde.  
Dyed . his bodi was put in molde  
In þe . XXV.<sup>th</sup> þe 3er . noþur more  
ne sum

780 Josafath forsoþe . forsok his kyndom  
And aftur þat . fyue and pritti 3er.  
hermytes lyf . he ladde wip good cher.  
And aftur þat in vertuwes . on good  
maner.

he dyed . as godus wille was þer

785 And wip þe bodi . of Barlaam  
Men hem buried . boþe in saam  
Whon kyng Barachye . þer of herde.  
Wip a gret host . pider he ferde  
And brouhte þe bodies . in to þe Citée.

790 Wip muche Reuerence . and noblete.  
And at heore tounbe . mony on  
Miracle is wrouht . þorwh Godus  
loon.

## B. De sanctis Berlam & Josaphat.

From the Harl. Ms. 4196, fol. 199 b.

(in Northern Dialect.)

- A grete clerk, Damacene, gert writ  
Haw saint barlam, þe gude hermit,  
Techid Josaphat, a kynges sun,  
þe law of crist how he solde kun.  
5 & in his buke þus makes he mynde.  
It bi fell when þe land of ynde  
With cristen folk was all fulfild,  
To serue god, als him seluyn willd :  
A kyng þar was þat did þam noy,  
10 And cristen folk fain walde he stroy,  
þat to crist had deuociowne,  
And namely monkes of religiowne.  
He had a lady, meke and mylde,  
Bot long þai lifed with outen childe ;  
15 þai murred for þai myght none gete.  
And at þe last his wife wex grete,  
And was deliuerd of a sun.  
A fairer childe myght none be fun.  
þe kyng was fain, so was þe quene,  
20 For þai had ane ayre þam bi twene.  
þai named him Josaphat in hy  
Efter þaire law of mawmetri.  
þan gert þe kyng sone efter send  
All þe clerkes in þat cuntre kend,  
25 Bifore his mawmettes to make mirth  
In honore of þat childes birth.  
þan cald he maysters of clergy,  
Of art and of Astronomy ;  
He chesed of all fyfty & fyue,  
30 And bad þai solde luke by þaire li  
And say þe suth & in nothing hi  
What of his zung son sold by ty  
þai went & soght omang þaire sp  
And sum of þam to þe kyng tels  
35 His son sulde be of grete power  
And lyf in lykyng mony a zere ;  
Sum said he solde haue grete ric  
And be honorde of more and les  
So was þare one þat mekill couth  
40 He said : syr, þis childe in his zow  
Sall cast him for to wit al wise  
þe law þat þou pi self despise,  
He sall noght dwell in pi kyngdo  
Bot to ane gretter sall he cum,  
45 And he sall ger þat law encrease  
þat þou has soght ay to ger sese.  
Of him self said he noght þus we  
Bot of þe haly gast sumdele,  
For, all yf he ware vnworthy,  
50 God lete him his counsail descry  
þan þe kyng bad mekill care,  
And thought how it sulde forþer f  
He ordand be his high counsaill  
How he myght ger þat purpose f  
55 By tyme þat þe childe come of el  
So þat he myght him seluin weld  
Was ordand in þat same cete  
A palais, whore his sun suld be

Nurist up with mete and drink,  
 10 pe best pat men myght efter think;  
 And with him did he childer zing,  
 pat wele couth harp sitoff and sing,  
 And zong men, his seruandes to be.  
 And un to pam pus cumand he :

5 pat noman sulde neuyn in pat stede  
 Nowper of sekenes, elde, ne dede,  
 Ne pouert, ne of ne desese,  
 pat to his son myght oght displese,  
 Bot pat pai solde both nyght & day

0 Make him mery all pat pai may ;  
 So pat he solde on ilk a side  
 With myrth euermore be ocupide .  
 For so sall his hert haue no tome  
 To think on thinges pat er to come.

5 Who so es seke, luke ze pam send  
 Out of pe court, or it be kend,  
 So pat my sun no sekenes se,  
 Wharthurg he myght abaisced be.  
 Of crist pat noman to him neuyn,

1 Ye tell him nowper of hel ne heuyn;  
 Luke all swilk fare fro him be hid !  
 And als he had, right so pai did.  
 Ful mekill myrth was pam o mell.

And in pe mene tyme pus bi fell :  
 5 Aknyght in court with pe kyng dweld,  
 pat cristes law full heartly held ;  
 He luffed him lely als him list,  
 Bot noman wolde he par of. wist.

In court he was most principal,  
 1 And mayster of pe knyghtes all.

So on a day fell pat pe kyng  
 And pis ilk knyght went on huntynge  
 In to forest pam to play.

And als pai went so by pe way,  
 5 pe knyght fand a man ligand pore  
 pat with wilde bestes was wonden

Vnto pe knyght hertly he praid  
 Him forto help, and pus he said :  
 Sum day, sir, haply sall you se  
 1 pat my counsaile my comforth pe.  
 pe knyght said : I will help gladly,  
 Bot of pi help no nede haue I.

pe mau answerde and said o none :  
 I am a leche of wurde allone ;

105 Who sum with wordes has any greue,  
 My medcyn may him sone releue.  
 pe knyght no tent perto gun take ;  
 Bot souerainly for goddes sake  
 Vnto his hows he has him sent,

110 And bad his seruandes to him tent  
 And ger him haue with more & les  
 pat socoure myght be to his sekenes ;  
 Grete kyndnes unto him he kyd.  
 And in pe mene tyme pus bytyd :

115 His enmyes had grete tene pat he  
 With pe kyng was so preue ;  
 parfore pai cumpast on all wise  
 How pai myght make pam full  
 enmyse.

To pe kyng in priuete pai tolde  
 120 pat pis kynght, desayue him wolde.  
 To get his kyngdom, yf he may,  
 And pat he lifed on cristes lay,  
 And pat mony ware of his assent  
 ffor to fulfill his fals entent.

125 And, sir, pai say, yf you will wit  
 pat pis be suth, we say pe zit, ~  
 Call him bi twene zow two allone  
 And say him pou has new purpose.  
 How pis life es bot vanite [tone,

130 And sodainly sall endid be,  
 And pat you will leue pi kyndom,  
 And cristen man you will be cum,  
 And pat you will take monkes wede  
 And make amendes in worde & dede

135 Vnto all pos pou has repreued  
 For pat ilk saw pat pow has loued ;  
 And of counsaile pow sall him pray,  
 pan sall you se what he will say.  
 pe kyng did all efter paire rede.

140 He toke pe knyght in a preue stede  
 And tolde to him fro top and taile  
 Als pai had gyffen him in counsaile.  
 pe knyght, pat of no tresoun kend,  
 When he had herd pir tales till end,

145 He gret fro ioy, so was he paid.  
 And to pe kyng all pus he said :



- Loued be þe lord, þat þe has lent  
 His grace to take so trew entent!  
 And yf þou be in so gude will,  
 150 I rede þat þou it sune fulfill,  
 For þan þou sall haue mekil mede;  
 And in lang biding ligges drede.  
 þus when þe kyng his counsaill knew,  
 þan trowed he wele paire tales war  
 trew:  
 155 þai tolde þe knyght wolde do him  
 skathe.  
 And be his sembland semyd he  
 wrathe;  
 Bot no þe lese zut said he noght.  
 & þan þe knyght sone him bi thought  
 þat þe kyng was noght wele paid  
 160 Of þo wordes þat he had said,  
 And wele he wend for to haue blame.  
 þan thought he how he had at hame  
 A man þat cowth gyf medcyn gude  
 For wordes þat moued a mans mode.  
 165 He went and tolde to þe seke man  
 þis tale als clerely als he can,  
 With þe kyng all how it ferd,  
 And on what manere he answerde.  
 þe man said: sir, þis I þe say:  
 170 þe kyng trowes þow wyll him bitray;  
 Bot sen I am of wordes leche,  
 Take tent and do als I þe teche!  
 þi counsaill bus þe nedes mayntene,  
 þat no deceayt be in þe sene,  
 175 And perfore do als I þe tell,  
 & furth in dainte sall þow dwell:  
 Ger cut þai hare and shaue þi crown,  
 Like unto men of religiōe,  
 And do oway þi clething faire  
 180 And cleth þe in sek or in hayre,  
 And cum so arely to morn  
 In þe palays þe kyng biforn;  
 Sun will he spir of pine array;  
 & unto him þan sall þou say:  
 185 Lo, lord, I am redy bowne  
 With þe to fare in felde & town,  
 All yf þe way þat þou will wende  
 Be un esy to fo orifrende,
- Yt sall be esy unto me,  
 190 Als lang als I may wende with  
 Sen þou in welthes vouched sai  
 Felawship of me to haue,  
 I sall be redy forto take  
 All erthly sorows for þi sake;  
 195 perfore graith þe & lat us gang  
 Wharto solde we tary lang?  
 & sir, yf þou will dwell at ham  
 I am redy to do þe same,  
 For alway will I redy be  
 200 In welle and wo to wende wt þe  
 þan bi þir wordes þe kyng wele k  
 þat his knyght to him was trew  
 And of þam þat had him acused  
 All paire counsaile he refused,  
 205 And said: omys þai gun þam m  
 Of his trew knyght swilk tale  
 tell.  
 þan was þe knyght in daynte m  
 & ner frende þan he was bi fore  
 Of þis knyght now lat we be,  
 210 & to þe kyng son will we se,  
 þat in likyng his life gun lede,  
 Vnto he was past his barnhede.  
 þan in his hert wunder him thog  
 Whi his fader so with him wrog  
 215 & whi he toke swilk apurpose  
 To halde him þore so lang in cle  
 To his menze he made his mone  
 & said: he lifed so lang allone  
 & had none ayre of erth ne flodd  
 220 þat mete ne drink did him no g  
 He had no talent to his mete,  
 For he no kyndely ayre myght g  
 & sone when þai þir wordes herd  
 þai tolde his fader all how it fer  
 225 & how he had ferly wharfore  
 þat his fader so held him þore,  
 So þat he myght nocht be at þe la  
 þis was to him a heuy charge.  
 When his fader þir tales herd,  
 230 He said he suld no more be spe  
 Horses and hernays ordand he,  
 þe semeliest þat men myght se,

- pat his sun myght on playing ride; & mynstraley on ilk a syde;  
 35 & men he had solde go bfore,  
 To serche pe way & seke aywhore,  
 So pat his sun no syght solde se  
 pat unto him myght noyand be.  
 pus raide he furth bi diuers days,  
 & had sere solace by sere ways.  
 And on a day so als he rade  
 And his menze grete myrthes made,  
 Two men bi fore him gun he find,  
 pat one was leper, pe toper blind.  
 He had meruayl what it myght  
 mene,  
 For sekenes had he neuer sene.  
 He askid his men whi pai ware so.  
 & sone one of pam tolde him to :  
 Sir, pai haue sekenes, wele we ken,  
 0 pat cumes oft tymes to erthly men.  
 He askid yf all men so sulde be.  
 And pai said nay . and pan said he :  
 Whereby may ze knaw pe man  
 put sall be pus? say, yf ze can;  
 5 And wheper pis sekenes sal be mend,  
 Or it sall last with outhen end P  
 pai say : sir, nowper olde ne zing  
 Wote what sall be in tyme cumyng.  
 When Josaphat pis understode,  
 30 pis meteyng meruaild all his mode  
 & put mekill of his myrth owai.  
 & als he went a noyer way,  
 He met a man, was wonder old,  
 Croked and cumberd, koghand for  
 cold,  
 65 Lame he was in lith and lim,  
 With nese dropand & eghen dym;  
 His handes tremblid, his teth roted,  
 Hespak so dym mendemyd he doted.  
 When Josaphat pis sight had sene,  
 70 He had meruail what it myght mene,  
 & said to pam pat war bi side :  
 What gers zon man swilk tenes bi-  
 tyde?  
 pai said: syr, he es of grete elde,  
 And mony zeres makes him vnwelde.
- 275 In, how felc zeres, pan askes he,  
 Sall a man cum to swilk degre?  
 pai say : in foure score zere, we kest,  
 Or els in fyue score at pe ferest.  
 He askis pan : what sall forper fall?  
 280 pai said : syr, ded es end of all.  
 And zit he askis pam in yt stede:  
 How may ze knaw who ssal be dede?  
 pai say: sir, ded, right wele we ken,  
 Es comun to all erthly men;  
 285 To riches takes he no regard,  
 Ne for pouert sall none be spard.  
 pan of pis thing so thought pis childe,  
 pat he refusid all werkes wilde,  
 & hertly couayt he to here  
 290 Swilk lessons, where he myght pam  
 here.  
 All yf men made him myrth & play,  
 He thought euer how it solde oway  
 With elde & euyl & sorows sere;  
 pat merriid him oft of mery chere.  
 295 Bot euermore in his fader sight  
 Shewed he myrth with all his myght,  
 pat it solde noght be knawen ne kid  
 What will with in his hert was hid.  
 In pat same tyme bi fell it so :  
 300 In a forest, noght fer par fro,  
 Wond a monk, pat Berlam hight,  
 pat honord god both day & nyght.  
 Of pis ilk kyng oft of herd he tell,  
 And of his sun how it bi fell.  
 305 Thurgh pe haly gast he had warnyng  
 Of pe childes purpose in all thing,  
 How he wolde luf pe werld nomore.  
 And sone he ordand him perfore  
 How he myght with sum suttill gin  
 310 Entre pat childe palays with in,  
 With pe childe to speke sumdele;  
 For so he hopid all solde be wele.  
 He ordand him a marchand wede,  
 And to pat same Cete he zede,  
 315 And to pat palays gun he pas  
 Where Josaphat in wunand was.  
 One of his men sone he mett,  
 And on pis manere he him grett.



- Euyne bi fore his broper dure.  
 & when his broper herd how it fure,  
 Allas, he said, pat I was born!  
 10 pis menes I mun be ded to morn;  
 pe kyng, my broper, es with me  
 wrath,  
 For pat I warned him of his skath.  
 His wife was wo & will of rede  
 pat hir lorde sulde be done to ded.  
 115 His testament pan gun he make,  
 & all pat nyght with wo pai wako.  
 In pe morn pai cled pam all in blak,  
 His wyfe & childer & all pe pak,  
 pai went un to pe kynges zate  
 120 & stode pore greteand in pe gate.  
 & when pe kyng wist he was pore,  
 He bad bring him furth him biforn.  
 He kneled and cried mercy him to.  
 pe kyng said: fole, whi fares pou so?  
 25 sen pou so dredes pi broper warnyng,  
 To wham pou has trispast nothing,  
 Whi blames pou me pan, if I drede  
 Or to pe warnyng walde take hede  
 Of my lord, pat last sall ay,  
 30 To wham I trispas ilk a day?  
 pat blowes to me with diuers blast  
 & warnes me of dome pat sal be last,  
 Whore ilk a man a count sal zelde  
 Of all his dedes in zowth and elde.  
 35 pan gert pe kyng in pat same nyght  
 Ordaine a kyst of siluer bright;  
 pai gylt it nobilly for pe nones,  
 & fild it full of ded men bones  
 pat now ware taken out of pe molde,  
 40 & lokkid with a kay of golde.  
 A noyer kyst pan gert he make,  
 & all with out was pik ful blak,  
 With in it was faire for pe nones  
 & fild with gold and precius stones.  
 45 pan for pe men he efter sent  
 pat first unto his broper went,  
 Wharfore pat he him blamed so.  
 When pai ware cumen, he said  
 pam to:  
 130 pir kistes pat er wroght on pis wise,  
 450 Gose prays pam to pe uerray prise!  
 pe kyst of golde, pai understode,  
 Might wele be prayessed to mekyl  
 golde;  
 & sethin pai say: pe kyst of blak  
 Es noght to prayse, bot more to lak.  
 455 So when pe kyng paire willes wist,  
 He gert opin pe fairer kyst:  
 & of it come so ful a smell  
 pat no man myght nereand it dwell,  
 So styntynd pe bones parin war done.  
 460 & pan pe kyng said unto pam sone:  
 Lo, sirs, he said, pis kist es lyke  
 Unto zoure self, for ze er slike:  
 With outen faire with cloth & skyn,  
 With in ful ful with filth of syn.  
 465 pat oyer kist pan cumand he,  
 pat simple semyd, sulde opin be:  
 & perof come a full swete are,  
 & tresore was parein full fayre.  
 pan said pe kyng: sirs, swilk er pai  
 470 pat I did wirship in pe wai:  
 All yf pai foul with outen seme,  
 With in pai er full faire to deme;  
 Wharfore ilk man pat witty es  
 Sulde take reward to paire  
 worthines.  
 475 And, syr, pis es fulfild in pe,  
 When pou with wirschip welcumd me  
 pat semes to pe a simple knaue,  
 For uertus pat pou hopes I haue  
 pe childe was of pir wordes wele paid.  
 480 pan berlam more un to him sayd:  
 He tolde him how pis werld bigan,  
 & so furst of pe syn of man,  
 How crist was born here of oure kyn  
 So for to saue man saul of syn,  
 485 How he on rode was ded with payn,  
 & sethyn how right he rase o gain;  
 & sethin he carpid what was to com,  
 Of ded and of pe day of dome,  
 And who ilk man solde haue mede,  
 490 Be saued or dampned efter his dede  
 & sethin, how it es grete foly  
 To trow or trist in maumetry,

pan es a gripe egg ; and perfore  
A grete los has pou lost pis day.  
pan þe forster to him self gan say  
585 Walde god I had þe here o gaine!  
And to take it he did his paine,  
And said : walde pou cum me unti  
pou solde wende at pine awin will,  
I sall do all what pou will bid.  
590 & on pis wise answerde þe brid :  
pou ert a fole, þat se I wele :  
My wisdomes prophetes þe no dele  
pou zernes me þat pou may noght  
gete,  
& trows I haue a stone so grete,  
595 When all my body es noght to se  
So grete als half an egg solde be;  
pou murnes for I am went þe fro;  
All my thre wisdoms loses pou so,  
& in þi wit pou ert bygilde.  
600 þan said berlam unto þe childe :  
Sir, þai do right swilk foly  
þat trowes in tales of mawmettry,  
þat wirships and giffes þare ofrande  
To þat þat þai wirk wt þaire handes  
605 Or say þat þaire mawmettes þum  
saucs,  
Of wham þam self þe kepeyng haues  
þan tolde he of þe uanite  
& wrechidnes þat in werld may be.  
Of þam þat foloes þaire flesh & will  
610 & suffers þe sawl perish & spill,  
& takes more tent to uanite  
þan to þe blis þat euer sall be,  
& will noght know what es to cum  
Of ded, ne of þe day of dome.'  
615 He said : syr, þai þat will do so  
May wele be like a man un to,  
þat in a forest here biforn  
Was pursued with ane unicorn.  
& als he feld & he toke no kepe,  
620 He fell in to a dyke full depe;  
Obut he wayted with mekil wogh,  
& gat hald bi a litell bogh;  
His fete he fest in þe dyke side-  
& be þat bogh als he gun bide,

- 575 He saw a blak mows & a white  
 About þat bogh so fast gun bite  
 þat almost had þai ettyñ it sunder ;  
 Bi neth he saw a noþer wonder :  
 Doun in þat pit a dragon grete,  
 580 Gapeand wide him for to gete ;  
 & in þe bank his fete about  
 Foure serpent heuedes he saw  
 cum out ;  
 & a bogh obouen his hand :  
 A hony camb þare saw he stand,  
 585 þat couaited he in hand to hent,  
 To oþer perils he toke no tent.  
 By sum men here so es it sene,  
 For þus þis tale es for to mene :  
 þe unicorn þat call I dede,  
 590 þat pursues us in ilk a stede ;  
 þe dike whore we fall, when we fle,  
 Unto þis werld may likkend be,  
 þat full of angers euer es talde ;  
 Bot bi a bogh þan take we halde :  
 595 þat es oure life, whoren we traist ;  
 Bot two mise bud make us a bayst,  
 þe blak and white, þt on it knaws :  
 þat es þe nyght & day þat daws,  
 Whilk two will neuer more stand  
 in stede,  
 600 Bot flit us furth, till we be dede ;  
 þe hill, where he saw foure serpentes,  
 Es mans body of foure Elementes,  
 Thurgh whilk, yf it be gouerned ill,  
 þe body in litell space may spill ;  
 605 þe dragon may be like þe fende,  
 þat euer es faine us for to shende  
 & for to wyn us in to his wombe ;  
 þan may men mene þe hony combe  
 Un to welth of þis werldes riches,  
 610 þat so swete to sum men es,  
 þare to take þai so mekill hede  
 þat of no perils haue þai drede,  
 Nowþer of god, ne of þe day of dome,  
 Ne of perils þat er to come.  
 615 & who so with þe werld so lendes,  
 Or tristes in luf of lifand frendes,  
 He may be likkend un to a man,  
 Of wham ensauple tell I can :  
 A kyng sum tyme of grete powere  
 620 Had a sun, was to him dere,  
 To wham he gaf riches plente,  
 Als þi fader has done to þe ;  
 He bad him wax and multipli.  
 Bot þan þis childe fell to foly,  
 625 & wrong his fader gude he spend.  
 And fell ogains þe zeres end :  
 þat kyng warned his sun to cum  
 Un to his court, to here his dome  
 & graith a count þore for to zelde  
 630 Of godes þat he had in his welde.  
 þan had þe kynges sun mekil care,  
 For all his gudes so wasted ware.  
 He thought þat he had frendes thre,  
 & in his nede proue þam will he ;  
 635 To þam he had gyfen grete riches,  
 þarfore his trist more in þam es.  
 þe first he had gyfen mekill pelf  
 & lufed him wele more þan him self,  
 þe secund lufed he holde & zing  
 640 Euyñ als him self in alkyn thing.  
 þe third frende lufed he noght so  
 wele,  
 Bot les þan him self bi sum dele.  
 Un to þe first frende first he went,  
 & tolde un to him his entent,  
 645 And prayd him for to be his belde  
 Un to þe court a count to zelde,  
 & help him in his sorows strang,  
 Sen he had shewed him luf so lang.  
 He answerde & said : sertes, nay,  
 650 With my frendes make I fest þisday,  
 þerfore I may noght pas þis stede,  
 & I wote wele þou mun be dede ;  
 Haue here a cloth to couer þe,  
 þat þou þine awin syte sal noght se,  
 655 & oþer help hete I þe none.  
 þan went he furth full wil of wonc.  
 Sonc come he to his secund frende,  
 & tolde un to him þis tale til ende  
 How he was cald a count to zelde,  
 660 And prayd him for to be his belde,  
 Als he to him bfore was bayn.

- pat oper said : I walde ful fain,  
 Bot now I may noght tent perto  
 For charge and thing I haue to do ;  
 665 I will wende with þe all þe gate  
 Till þou cum to kynges zate,  
 Bot home ogaine þan bus me turne.  
 þe kynges sun þan sore gan murne.  
 Un to þe third frende went he sone  
 670 For wham he had ful litell done,  
 His noy he tolde to him by name,  
 & said : sir, I may noght for schame  
 Hertly helping of þe craue,  
 For littell on þe I ouchted saue,  
 675 & þai þat I gafe gude plente  
 Ful fantly now has failed me ;  
 I may noght ask of þe bi skill,  
 • Bot if þou wolde of pi gude will,  
 Wende with me a litell space  
 680 & help to get my fader grace.  
 He answerd þan with meri chere,  
 & said : pi dedes er to me dere,  
 I know þe for my faithfull frende,  
 And gladly will I with þe wende  
 685 And pray for þe pi fader un to,  
 And els what þou will bid me do.  
 Berlam said : sir, þis was a frende !  
 Bot þus þis tale may be remende :  
 God es þis kyng, sir, wele we ken,  
 690 And his suns er all cristen men,  
 To wham he gifes all erthly thing ;  
 Bot sothin he calles us to rekenyg,  
 þat es with ded when þis life endes ;  
 þannedes us for to seke oure frendes ;  
 695 þe first frende es þis werldely gude,  
 þat ebbes & floues here als þe fode,  
 Whore in we trist, & folows fast,  
 Bot, when þe ded cum es at þe last,  
 We get no help of him þat tyde,  
 700 Bot of a cloth, oure cors to hide.  
 þe secund frende we trist in :  
 Er wyfe and childer and oper kyn :  
 þai help us noght when we nede haue,  
 Bot with us wende þai to oure graue,  
 705 And þeyin oway þai wende ful  
 swyft  
 Home ogaine, oure gude to skyft.  
 þe third frende þat es charite,  
 And with us alway wendes he :  
 þat es prayers and almusdedes,  
 710 þai may us help in all oure nedes  
 And hertly hope þat we sall haue  
 In god, þat he oure sawles will sau  
 þefore oure mys we solde amend  
 & almus fast bfore us send,  
 715 To serue us whore we soirn sale.  
 So may men lere by a tale :  
 In a cete nobill for þe nones  
 þis custum used þai ilk zere ones  
 A kyng to make, noght of paire  
 awin,  
 720 Bot of a strange man & unknowin ;  
 To pouert solde þai take no hede  
 Bot cleth him sone in kynges wede  
 And gif him and plain powere(!)  
 To do what him list all þat zere ;  
 725 At his dome solde be all bi dene.  
 Bot sothin, when þat he lest sold  
 wene,  
 With þe Cytezayns he solde be ton  
 & fro þat Cete led allone,  
 He solde be nakynd in þat wile  
 730 And put in to ane un cuth yle,  
 Whore he solde dy for fant of fode  
 And at þe last ane under stode  
 þat he solde swilk defautes fole ;  
 þarfore he did wisely and wele :  
 735 Sere gudes he sent oft sithes bfore  
 þat he myght haue, when come þore  
 Sethin when his people had him,  
 repreued,  
 With his awin gudes he was releued  
 Sir, so solde ilk man him awise  
 740 And in þis werld wirk als þe wise,  
 To send bi fore sum almus dede,  
 þat may him help when he has nede  
 When berlam þus wt wordes bolde  
 To þe kynges sun þir tales had tolde.  
 745 pi childe said he walde wt him wende  
 & nowþer let for fo ne frende,  
 þe kyng his fader he wolde forsake

- & berlam furth his fader make,  
 pan said berlam : yf þou will so,  
 750 Ensawmple sall I tell þe un to,  
 How it bi fell with swilk a childe  
 þat gaf him fro all werkes wilde.  
 A prince son of a gude cete,  
 þat with riche ayres myght married be,  
 755 Als he went on a day playand,  
 A pouer mans dogter saw he stand,  
 Wirkand hir werk with eger mode  
 And loueand god euer als sho stode.  
 þe zong childe stode and bihelde  
 760 What thankyng scho to god gun  
 zelde.  
 In his hert he was wele paid.  
 & all þus un to hir he said :  
 Woman, what menes þou in þi mode  
 þat loues god with hert so gude ?  
 765 þou thankes him in þi myscheue,  
 Als he had gifen þe grete releue ;  
 Say me þe suth whi þou dose so.  
 þe mayden answerde þus þar to :  
 A litell salue, sir, suth it es,  
 770 May medeyn a full grete sekenes :  
 So pouer prayers and pouer defe  
 Of god may get us ful grete mede ;  
 Here of oure self we haue bot syn,  
 Oure gudenes of god bus bigyn ;  
 775 To me grete giftes gyfen has he,  
 For to his liknes made he me  
 & gaf me wit & resoun right,  
 & heuyn blis he has me hight ;  
 To him me aw wirshpid to do  
 780 þat swilk grete giftes has gifen  
 me to.  
 Hir stabill faith þus when he felde,  
 His hert gun haly to hir helde.  
 Vn to hir fader he went bilyue  
 And said he walde wed hir to wiue.  
 785 Hir fader was þarof full faine ;  
 Bot þus he answerde him ogaine :  
 To wed hir, sir, will noght a cord,  
 For þou es sun to a grete lord  
 And we er pouer in simple state ;  
 790 þow will noght wed hir, wele I  
 wate.  
 þe childe said how his hert was set,  
 & hir to haue none solde him let.  
 þe pure man saw þan purpose,  
 And his werk was him lath to losc.  
 795 He said : sir, all yf þou hir wed,  
 So may noght be furth with þe led :  
 Oper help bot of hir haue I none,  
 Scho may noght leue me hereallone.  
 þe childe said : sir, with gud chere  
 800 I sall dwell here with zow in fere,  
 & confourme to zoure astate,  
 & do zoure will arely and late.  
 In pouer wede sone he him cled,  
 And þe pouer woman so he wed.  
 805 þai lifed and died in goddes law ;  
 And, sir, I se wele by þi saw  
 þat to þis same þou profers þe,  
 þat sais þt þou will wend wt me  
 To wildernes, and wote noght whare,  
 810 & leue þi welth and þi wele fare.  
 þan Josaphat un to him said :  
 þis tale may wele to me be laid :  
 All likyng will I leue here stil  
 And wende with þe who so þu will.  
 815 Bot, fader, tell me, and none els,  
 How olde þou ert, and where þou  
 duels ?  
 Berlam answerde on þis manere :  
 I am olde fourety and fyue zere,  
 In wildernes I dwell sertaine.  
 820 þan Josaphat answerde ogaine :  
 Fader, pine elde yf þou wolde ken,  
 þou semes of sixty zeres and ten.  
 þan berlam sais : yf all ware tolde  
 Sen I was born, I am so olde ;  
 825 Bot ferrer zeres none tell I can  
 Bot sen tyme I was cristes man ;  
 þat oper tyme I tell for dede,  
 For to me standes it in no stede.  
 þan Josaphat fast made him boun  
 830 With berlam for to wende of toun  
 To wildernes, where he wolde go.  
 He said : sun, it may noght be so,



- We myght noght so escape fro  
skath ;  
perfore es better for us bath  
835 pat pou at home here hald þe still  
And cum to me sethin at þi will.  
He baptist him pore with his hend  
And trouth of crist clereþy him kend ;  
He kissed him þan als custum es,  
840 And went ogain to wildernes.  
And Josaphat þare dwellid still,  
And loued god euer loud and still.  
Till at þe last his fader herd  
Of his dere sun how þat it ferd,  
845 And berlam pore had him baptist  
And turned him to þe laws of crist.  
So mekill sorow in hert he had  
pat nonekyns myrth myght mak  
him glad.  
His mane un to a frende he mase  
850 And askes his counsaill in þat case,  
In þis bale what ware best to do.  
And þus he answerde him un to :  
My counsaill I tell þis tyde :  
I knau ane hermyt here bi syde  
855 Lyke un to berlam les ne more,  
Bot his right name es nachor,  
Ho es like to berlam bot þe name :  
þi son sall wene he be þe same  
pat bfore un to him aperd ;  
860 And þat Ermyt þus sall be lerd :  
To þi sun sall he first declare  
þe law pat berlam lered him are,  
Sethin sall he oþer cases controue  
And say þat law es to reprove,  
865 & þat his techeing was in uaine ;  
So sall þi son be getyn ogaine.  
Here to assent þai les and more.  
& þis frende ordand fast perfore :  
He tolde þe child how þe kyng  
had wroght  
870 pat berlam solde to court be broght ;  
He gederd him grete company  
Efter berlam to spir and spi.  
þai broght þis Ermyt nachor hame,  
& tolde þat þai had broght berlam.
- 875 When Josaphat herd tithinges tell  
pat his mayster was þam omell,  
Full mekill sorow in hert he had.  
Bot or þe morn he was more glad :  
þe haly gaste in preuete  
880 Warned him þat Jt was noght he.  
þan come þe kyng sone on þe morn  
& cald his son furth him biforn.  
Dere son, he sais, efter men tels  
In grete erreoure and drede þou  
dwels,  
885 And, tite bot þou turn þi thought,  
In mykell bale þou has me broght :  
Oure goddes, þai say, þou has  
forsaken  
And to fals law turned and taken,  
þow leues þe law pat turnes to lyght  
890 And merres me of mayn a myght :  
þou makes myne eghen both myrk  
& dym.  
þan Josaphat said þus to him :  
Fader, I haue forsaken myrknes  
& taken to lyght þat lastand es,  
895 Of erreoure haue I left þe law,  
& sothfastnes full wele I knaw ;  
Trauell no more with wordes in  
uaine,  
Fro criste þou gettes me neuer  
ogaine ;  
þi hand to þe heuyn better myght  
þu heue  
900 þan make me cristes law to leue.  
To þe it war a les maystry  
þe mekyll se for to make dri  
þan fro criste for to turn my mode.  
þan þe kyng for wo was wode.  
905 Allas, he said, who may it be  
pat þis myschefe has made to me ?  
To þe more kyndnes haue I kyd  
þan euer fader to his sun dyd,  
And þou has with þi wikked rede  
910 Made me dole un to þe dede ;  
Full suthly was it said bi forn  
With clerkes wise, when þu was  
born,

915 pai said pou solde wrik in pis wise :  
 Ogaine pi kyn unright to rise  
 916 & to pi helpers take no hede ;  
 Now find I it fulfild in dede ;  
 & tite bot if pou turn pi thought,  
 \* With bitter bale it shall be boght :  
 All as I bi fore haue bene pi frende,  
 920 So sall I now schap pe to shende,  
 & moste felly pou sall be flayd.  
 pan Josaphat full softly said :  
 Sir kyng, whi makes pou mykell care  
 & es so wroth for I wele fare ?  
 925 Unfaythfull fader he es to fele  
 pat es wo for his sunes wele ;  
 Yf pou will so ogains me hald,  
 My fader pou sall no more be tald,  
 Bot fro pi drede I will draw me  
 930 Als I wald for a nedder fle.  
 pe kyng pan had so mekyll wo  
 pat wordes myght he speke na mo.  
 Bot home he hied un to his toure,  
 & tolde un to his counseloure  
 935 All hou he with his sun had spoken,  
 And pat he wolde on him be wroken.  
 He answerde pan & said : sir, nay,  
 All softly sall pou first assay,  
 For childer er ether for to teche  
 940 With wordes fayre pan wt full  
 speche.  
 Sone on pe morn when it was day,  
 pe kyng to his sun toke pe way ;  
 He halsed him & kyssed oft,  
 & sethin he said with wordes soft :  
 945 Dere sun, he said, pou solde take  
 kepe  
 pi fader to honure & wirshipec,  
 & namely me, a man of elde ;  
 Whobot my barn solde be my belde ?  
 Sun, wolde pou wit what made it  
 were  
 950 pi fader & moder to wirship here,  
 & how ill it es pam to despice,  
 pan walde pou noght wrik on pis  
 wise  
 To make me haue swilk bitter braid.

pan answerde Josaphat and said :  
 955 Tyme es of luff in ilk a stede  
 & tyme es als so of hatrede,  
 Tyme es of pes & tyme of were,  
 & all euyll tyme es for to forbere,  
 Bot in no tyme aw us to bow  
 960 To pam pat in god will nocht trow.  
 Bot titter sall we fro pam fle,  
 Fader or moder, whoþer euer it be.  
 pan said pe kyng : sen it es so  
 pow will nocht meko pe me un to,  
 965 þou sall nowþer haue pi will, ne I,  
 Bot bothe acord us to clergy ;  
 I haue berlam in my presoun,  
 Take zoure counsaile & mak zow  
 bown !  
 & my counsaile I sall do call,  
 970 & lat þam luke omang þam all  
 Wheþer I haue pe wrang, or pow ;  
 & als þai tell so sall we trow :  
 Yf berlam tales be funden trow,  
 pan sall I lere pat law o new ;  
 975 & yf his fare be funden fals,  
 þou sall trow my law, & he als.  
 Josaphat said : sir, I assent.  
 & þan pe kyng fast home he went.  
 His counsaill un to him he cald ;  
 980 & all assent þai for to hald  
 þat coucand, þat was made bifore,  
 How þat pe fals Ermyt nachore  
 Solde first comend fast cristes  
 name,  
 & sethin he solde reproue pe same  
 985 & graunt him conuicte in p<sup>t</sup> case,  
 & turn pe child so to his trace.  
 On pe morn was all þis graid.  
 & Josapat to nachore said,  
 Als he his mayster had nocht myst,  
 990 For all þaire purpose wele he wist :  
 My mayster berlam, luke þou be  
 Trew to pat law þou lered me,  
 & luke fully þou it defend  
 & mayntene it als þou me kend,  
 995 &, yf þe will þe gyf þar to,  
 I sall it luf ay whils I lyf,



- 180 Of oure answer agayne to morn ;  
& cal un to pe pi counsaile  
To luke what may pe moste auale,  
Or what pam think es best to do ;  
& , sir, yf pat pou will noght so,  
185 Leue pi counsaile here with me  
& lat berlam wend home wt pe ;  
& bot pir, sir, yf pou refuyces,  
pan malice & no right pou vses.  
pe kyng pan thynkes in pa wile  
190 pat nachor solde him zut bigyle,  
& perfore berlam grauntes he  
All pat nyght with his son solde be.  
pe kyng & his counsaile went home ;  
& with pe childe pe Ermet come,  
195 & perfore was pe childe wele paid.  
& als sone un to him he said :  
'Trowes pou noght I wrote full wele  
Of pi deszaite euer ilk a dele ?  
To me was warned fulwele bifore :  
200 pou was noght berlam, bot nachore ;  
I wate my maister berlam es  
Wunand all in wildernes ;  
Luf cristes law now, rede I pe,  
Als my maister has techid me.  
205 He enfouremed him goddes law  
to fele.  
& nachore grauntes euerilkadele ;  
He toke bapty m wt gude entent,  
& so to wildernes he went ;  
He honord god on alkyns wise,  
210 & lifed & enddid in his seruyce.  
pan in pat cuntre wunand was  
A terrand pat hight theodeas.  
•When he herd tell of all pis thing,  
He hied him fast un to pe kyng,  
215 & said : sir kyng, I undertake  
pat I sall ger pi son for sake  
pe maters pat he wt pe has meld,  
& hald pe law pt oure faders hold ;  
& perto will I do my paine.  
220 pis tithing made pe kyng ful faine.  
Maister, he said, yf pat pou may  
Turn my sun to trow oure lay,  
I sall do make in pis same cete  
Ane ymage of golde in mynde of pe,
- 1125 I sall make sacrifice par to  
And cumand all men to do so.  
pis lurdan pan pe kyng yus leres :  
Sir, do down all his officers  
& all men pt now with him dwelles,  
1130 & ger him haue gay damaysels  
& ladys, luffiest in land,  
Vn to him for to be scruand,  
At burd & bed with him to be,  
Arey & late, in all degre ;  
1135 & I sall ger a spirit gang  
Als a chefe mayden pam omang,  
& exite him un to lichery ;  
So sall he fall sone to foly :  
Nothing so sone dessayue him sale.  
1140 pat sal I proue pe by a tale :  
A king sumtyme in cuntre was,  
& had a sun als pou now has.  
& sone when pis ilk sun was born,  
pe kyng cald his clerkes him bi  
forn,  
1145 He had pam luke & tell him all  
What thing solde of his sun bi fall.  
& pan pai said on pis manere :  
pis childe bi houes be tendid ten zere  
pat he nouthre se son ne monce,  
1150 For, yf he do, he sall als sone  
Lose his syght for euermore.  
& pus pe kyng ordand perfore  
To kepe him in ahows of stone,  
To ten winters war fully gone.  
1155 pore was he kepud wt candels lyght,  
pat he of sun had neuer syght ;  
Of werldly syght pore saw he none.  
& when ten zeres ware fully gone,  
pe kyng gert set his sun parout,  
1160 & bad bring sere bestes him obut,  
& ffish & fowles, wilde & tame,  
& gert men neuy n pam alle bi name.  
Siluer & golde he gert furth bring,  
Pelure, perre & riche clething.  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
*The MS. abruptly ends here, one or  
more leaves being missing.*

## C. Barlaam &amp; Josaphat.

*From the Bodl. MS. 779.*

- Ihon of damascene : telleþ vs þe storize  
 Of barlaam & iosaphat, : to haue hem Im memoryze.  
 Barlaam tornyd Iosaphat, : þe king<sup>9</sup> sone of egipte,  
 & fro fals be leue : to cristindom hym kipte.  
 5 In þe lond monk<sup>9</sup> : & cristinmen were.  
 Auenue heet þe king : þ<sup>t</sup> wonyd þo þere ;  
 Monk<sup>9</sup> he hatid more : þan I of telle may,  
 & euerymon þ<sup>t</sup> willuid : to here abbay ;  
 Cristinmen he harmyd : & monk<sup>9</sup> wit his myzt,  
 10 & w<sup>t</sup> al his conseyl : he pouzt hem euil dyzt.  
 It be fel þ<sup>t</sup> anobil mon, : pat þ<sup>e</sup> wit hym was,  
 Went in to wildirnes : & monk com by cas ;  
 þey he were in king<sup>9</sup> hous : & gret honour hadde,  
 Al þ<sup>t</sup> he gan forsak, : for he pouzt it badde.  
 15 þo þe king herde þis, : sory he was & wroþ,  
 & pat he scholde be souzt : ȝerne he swor his oþ.  
 fforþ he sente messenger<sup>9</sup>, : þ<sup>t</sup> haue hym I souzt ;  
 þey founde hym & to þe king : þey haue hym I brouzt.  
 þe king hym be held þo : In a foul cirtil ;  
 20 On him he schok his heed : & seyde : hastou do wel ?  
 þ<sup>a</sup> þat were wonyd wit me : be in clop<sup>9</sup> ryche,  
 þ<sup>a</sup> hast tornyd þy self : & gost vylliche ;  
 Lene beþ þy chekis : þ<sup>t</sup> feyr were wonyd to be ;  
 þ<sup>a</sup> hast maad a childis pley, : Iwis, so pinkeþ me,  
 25 þyn honour þ<sup>a</sup> hast tornyd : al in to folyze,  
 & me pinkeþ þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> dost : þer of no cortesyze.  
 ȝif þ<sup>a</sup> wolt, þis good mon seyde, : þe soþe wit of me,  
 þou most þy fomon anon : dryue fro þe.  
 þe kyng seyde : my fomon ? telle woche be þo !  
 30 þe gode mon answerde : & hym seyde two :  
 Wraþpe & couetyse : draueþ men be hinde,  
 & for þey ne schold þe soþe se, : makeþ hem alle blinde ;  
 But tak to þy conseyl : soþnesse & queintyse,  
 ffor to knowe soþnesse : þey þe wolle wyse.  
 35 Myldelych answerid : þe king to hym þo :  
 After þat þ<sup>a</sup> hast seyde, : I wis, I wille do ;  
 Sey what þat þ<sup>a</sup> wolt, : I wolle þ<sup>e</sup> nou here

- pat I nele wrappe me : in no manere.  
 flolis wole, quap pis good mon, ; þt lasting is forsake,  
 40 & þt ne durip nouzt long : pey strengþip hem to take ;  
 & I þe segge forsope, : ryzt ne knowip þey nouzt  
 þt ne hap in lore wit sorwz : be fore it I bouzt ;  
 þus it fariþ, leue syre, : I segge þe, by me ;  
 Heuin I wold knowe, : forsope I segge þe ;  
 45 Who so wil it knowe, : pis world he moot for saake,  
 pat ne last but a while, : & hard lyf to hym tanke ;  
 ffor wit oute hard lyf, : polyd in world pis,  
 Ne may no mon wit ryzt : come to heuin blis ;  
 For ihesu crist oure lord, : þt god of heuin is,  
 50 þo he was on erþe, : polid pyne I wis ;  
 for hym self he dede it nouzt, : for vs it was do ;  
 perfore we scholle w<sup>t</sup> his help : for hym doon also.  
 I wis, quap þe king to hym, : nadde I be hote þe  
 þt I schold wrappe & couetyse : dryue fro me,  
 55 Of þe I wold a wreke : In wrappe be,  
 pat me schold þy reed blood : on grounde se.  
 perfore swyþe of my lond : þt þ<sup>a</sup> now fle !  
 Or w<sup>t</sup> pyne & w<sup>t</sup> wo : for doon þ<sup>a</sup> schalt be.  
 fforþ went pis good mon : in moche sorwz & wo,  
 60 For he hopid ful wel : to deþe ben I do.  
 In þt ilke tyme : þe king nadde eyr none ;  
 perfore he was sory : & made moche mone.  
 God hym sente a knaue child, : þt was swyþe feyr,  
 Josaphat it was I hote, : & scholde ben his eyr.  
 65 To þe temple pey went, : his offring for to doon.  
 & after astronomyis : þe king leet sende anon,  
 pat pey schold stodyze : in eueryche syde  
 & telle hym what his sone : on erþe schold be tyde.  
 Alle pey answerid : : gret lord he schold be,  
 70 & agreeet mayster swyþe wit al, : gif he most I þe.  
 þo seyde on, but nouzt þorw him self : but þorw þ<sup>a</sup> holy gost :  
 þis child schal be conquerour : of þing þt þ<sup>a</sup> wost,  
 For þing þou louist most(!) : þis child haue chal,  
 & þer þorwz oure hyze god<sup>9</sup> honour : he schal doun fal.  
 75 þis þing of hym self : ne seyde he no þing,  
 But þorw þe holy gost, : pat tauzt hym þis tokenyng.  
 þo þis ilke king : was in wrappe & in care,  
 For he nyste noþing : how he scholde fare,  
 Ne he nyste on lyue : wher he myzt hym do.  
 80 A chaumbir ondir erþe : he leet make þo.  
 & anon his zonge sone : he leet do þer inne,  
 For he ne schold of crist here : be no maner gyinne.

- pe feyreste childrin of pe lond : he leet to hym do,  
 & bad nomon to hym spek, : of no maner sorw ne wo,  
 85 No of no ping : pat myzt do hym care,  
 But in alle wyse : make hym mery to fare.  
 Of ihesu crist he for bad : me scholde speke nouzt,  
 Lest he in any tyme : tornyd to hym his pouzt.  
 Of seknesse & of elde : he heet hem al so  
 90 pat pey ne speke, & gif any : p<sup>t</sup> wt hym were I do  
 Were in syknesse or in sorw, : do a wey þo,  
 & nym an oper in his sted, : pat ne ferd nouzt so :  
 So pat he were In ioys : þorw alle ping,  
 & pat he pouzt nouzt : on noþing to comyng.  
 95 In p<sup>t</sup> tyme was wit pe king : amon wel preue,  
 pat preucly loud wel ihesu crist, : as pe book telleþ me.  
 Wit pe king on aday : he went on hontyng.  
 By pe wey pey founde : apore mon gronyng ;  
 Of abest he was hort : in his foot wel sore.  
 100 Help he hym be souzte : & seruise, for godd<sup>9</sup> ore.  
 pe king rood forþ his wey, : & no kep ne took,  
 But louz & made game, : & vtterliche hym for sook.  
 pis oper alyzte of his hors : anon in pilke stounde  
 &, as he myzt, : bond vp his soor wounde.  
 105 pe pore hym be souzt : seruise pur charyte,  
 & seyð : I may par awenture : in some þin helpe þe. —  
 pou I þe vndirfong, : I not what þ<sup>a</sup> canst do. —  
 pe pore mon hym answerid : & þ<sup>9</sup> he seyð hym two :  
 I am leche of word<sup>9</sup>, : & þer of helpe I can ;  
 110 gif any man Is hort : of word of man,  
 pou he be so hurt : p<sup>t</sup> hym greue sore,  
 I hym wole hele, : & he do be my lore.  
 pis knyzt hym ondirfong, : & told þis for nouzt,  
 & sent hym to his hous : & hap hym to hele brouzt.  
 115 Wit pe king were men þo : ful of enuige,  
 pat gonne þis good knyzt : wel foule be lyze.  
 Of some ping pey seyde soop, : as I zow telle can :  
 For þey seyð pat he was : a cristin man ;  
 But wel I woot pey seyde lees : of an oper ping :  
 120 þey seide he was aboute to nym : pe kingdom of pe king,  
 & pat he procurid pe baroun<sup>9</sup> of pe lond  
 ffor to putte out pe king : wt schame & wit schond.  
 & gif þ<sup>a</sup> wolt, þey seyde, : þer of wite pe sope,  
 Send after hym to morw<sup>3</sup> : pat he come to þe ;  
 125 Tel hym : þis world, : as þe pinkeþ, is nouzt,  
 perfore to holy lyf : þ<sup>a</sup> wolt torne þy pouzt,  
 &, for þ<sup>a</sup> leuist on ihesu crist, : monk þ<sup>a</sup> wolt be come :

- So þ<sup>u</sup> myzt his wille : knoue al & some ;  
 Wel þou wost, leue syre, : zif he rad þer to,  
 130 þat þe ping is al soop : þ<sup>t</sup> we þe tel to.  
 þo þe king hadde all do : þ<sup>t</sup> þey gonno hym rede,  
 þe knyzt fel to þe king<sup>9</sup> feet ; : sore weping he sede :  
 Ihesu crist of heuin, þonkid moot þ<sup>u</sup> be,  
 þat hast my lord soch reed I sent, : as he here telleþ me.  
 135 I wis, he seyde, leue syre, : triste me ne may  
 to þis false world : þ<sup>t</sup> chaungeþ ech day :  
 Nou ze sep þe wedir is hoot & now cold,  
 Now aman in his goupe is : & now he is old,  
 Now aman is ryche : & now in pouert I sete,  
 140 Nou aman is in gret chele : & nou brenneþ for hete,  
 Now me is in gret wele : & now me is in wo ;  
 þis world is vnstedfast, : ffor al ping faryþ so ;  
 perfore me pinkeþ I wis : it is þe beste reed,  
 þat þ<sup>u</sup> folwe þy pouzt : þat þ<sup>u</sup> me hast I seed.  
 145 þe king answerid : : I wene wel þat þ<sup>u</sup> do,  
 Worse þ<sup>u</sup> woldist do by me, : zif þ<sup>u</sup> myztist come þer two.  
 Hom he wente to his hous, : & be pouzt anon  
 þ<sup>t</sup> þe king in wrappe : tok his word<sup>9</sup> echon,  
 & pouzt he scholde be harmyd : þorw þ<sup>t</sup> ilke speche,  
 150 But he were holpe of hym : þ<sup>t</sup> was of word<sup>9</sup> leche.  
 To hym he gan segge : þe wrappe of þe king,  
 & how his oune word<sup>9</sup> : were þe be ginyng.  
 Wete it wel, quap þis oþer, : þe king hap ondirstonde  
 þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> art aboute : to dryue hym out of londe ;  
 155 Arys vp to morwe erlich, : & kot about þin ere,  
 & alle þy cloþ<sup>9</sup> chaunge : & cloþe þe in here !  
 Go erliche to þe king : in þe morw<sup>3</sup> tyde !  
 Whanne þou comyst to his bed, : stonde a whyle be syde,  
 & aske hym wel fayre : wher he redy be,  
 160 & sey : syre, redy I am, : here þou myzt se ;  
 In merþe we haue longe, : þou wost, to gedir be,  
 perfore I am redy to go : w<sup>t</sup> þe to pouerte ;  
 For im my rychesse : þ<sup>u</sup> hast me feyr founde,  
 I am redy wit þe : in pouert to be bounde ;  
 165 Wel þ<sup>u</sup> wost in þy wele : þ<sup>u</sup> madist me þy make,  
 perfore in þy pouert : I nele þe forsake ;  
 zif þer any ping be : þ<sup>t</sup> greuous is to þe,  
 & we to gedir ben, þe lyzter it schal be.  
 As þis good mon tauzt : þis knyzt hap I do,  
 170 & seyð he was al redy : wit þe king to go.  
 þe king lay & herde : how he seyde þis ;  
 Moche wondir hym pouzt : of þis ping I wis,



- & seyð : artow redy : for to go wit me ?  
 fforsope, quap þis oper, : syre, þu myzt se ze ;  
 175 Me for to go wit þe, : I woot it is ryzt,  
 per fore þu myzt se : per to I am dyzt ;  
 & gif þer oper wey be : þt þu wilt to take,  
 I segge þe fforsopc, : I nele þe fforsake.  
 Wend azen, quap þe king, : I wille be þenke me ;  
 180 Hauc þis in conseyl stille, : til I speke more wt þe.  
 þe king wel ondirstood : by þis ilke þing  
 þat alle here word⁹ : nere but lesing,  
 & euer he gan þe knyzt : þe more honour do,  
 & euer more þer after : þe more trist hym to.  
 185 Iosaphat, þe king⁹ sone, : maystris hadde of lore,  
 þat, þou he were so be loke, : tauzt hym euere more.  
 On þis world he gan þenche, : þou he it say selde,  
 For he was ny of tyme : of fyftene zer elde.  
 A child þt hym was preue : wit speche swyþe softc,  
 190 Whan he was in preuete, : he gan aske ofte,  
 Why he was so be schit : & ne moste out go,  
 & seyð : whan he þouzt þer on : his herte was ful wo.  
 Ne þer nys mete ne drink þer fore : þt me doþ gode.  
 þe child hym answerid : wit wel mylde mode :  
 195 Syre, of þis reson, : I woot, þu most be stille ;  
 ffor I woot þu art here : þorw³ þy fadir wille,  
 & wel þu wost azen hym : we ne mowe nouzt be ;  
 per fore, syre, make þe glad, : for loue I bidde þe.  
 Mafey, quap þis oper, : I wille gon out & pleyze,  
 200 Er I etc mete, : þu I for hongur deyzc.  
 þe child dede þe king to wit : of þis ilke þing,  
 How nomon myzt his sone : bring in glading.  
 Swyþe sory was þe king, : þo he herde þis.  
 His sone he sette a day : to wende out I wis.  
 205 Boþe hous⁹ & stretis : so feyr he leet dyzte,  
 þat he ne scholde finde no þing : þt greuid his syzte ;  
 Fayre hors he purueyed, : þt he on ryde scholde,  
 & greypid hym to his wil : al þat he haue wolde.  
 As he rood on atym, : twey seke men he mette,  
 210 Ablind mon & amesel, : þt ful fayr hym grette.  
 Anon he clepid his mayster : & þus seyde hym two :  
 Sey me for my loue, : what beþ þese ilke two ?  
 Seke men, he seyde, : þey beþ boþe I wis.  
 Schal ech mon, quap þis oper, : þt leueþ, þole þis ?  
 215 Nay fforsope, quap þis oper, : þe child seyde þo :  
 May me knowe pilke men, : þt it schal come two ?  
 Nay I wis, quap þis oper, : þe soþe of þis þing

- No man may wite : but god, heuin king.  
 Hom pey went w<sup>t</sup> p<sup>t</sup> word. : p<sup>e</sup> child was sory,  
 220 ffor he ne knew nouzt pis ping : he nyst what do per by.  
 But euer, whan his fadir : & he to gedir were,  
 In as moche as he myzt : he made glad chere.  
 On a tyme as he rood, : an old mon he fond,  
 Bleryid & wlafling(!) : & stouping to pe ground,  
 225 Schabbid he was, his nose dropping, : lopliche on to se.  
 pis child askid anon, : what pis myzte be.  
 His maystir hym answerde : : so old mon he is,  
 path for pure elde : hym is come al pis.  
 pe child askid anon : : schal ech mon p<sup>9</sup> be falle?  
 230 Nay I wis, quap pis oper, : but ofte it doy valle ;  
 Whan aman leuid so long, : p<sup>9</sup> he wole fare.  
 Schal he leue long, quap pis child, : er he come to pis care ? —  
 In foufre score zer or an hondrid, : pow men it leue selde,  
 & seppe after, to sope, : we wytyf of elde.  
 235 so moot me segge, quap pis child, : pe ende of pis ping.  
 I wis, he seyde, to sope : dep is pe ending.  
 po seyde pis good child : : scholle men deyze echon ?  
 3e I wis, quap his mayster, : per may ascape non.  
 Her on pouzt pis zong child : bope nyzt & day ;  
 240 So moche was his care : p<sup>t</sup> telle it I ne may.  
 Whan he was afore his fadir, : he made good chere,  
 & pleyid & gamyd, : as hym no ping nere ;  
 Whan he was by hym self, : he gan to syke sore,  
 & of pis ilke ping : fayn he wold lerne more.  
 245 A monk p<sup>t</sup> wonyd in desert, : p<sup>t</sup> wel holy lyf ladde,  
 Barlam he was hote, : p<sup>t</sup> moche god dradde,  
 He wiste porw pe holygost : al pe child<sup>9</sup> pouzt.  
 Abyt of marchaund he hym nom, : & god hym pedir brouzt.  
 pe wey toward pis gode child : so longe he hap nome,  
 250 p<sup>t</sup> to pe child<sup>9</sup> mayster : ryzt he is I come.  
 Wel fayro he hym grette, : & seyde to hym p<sup>9</sup> :  
 Aryche marchaunt I am, : of ferne lond I wis ;  
 Apresyous ston I haue, : p<sup>t</sup> zeuep pe blinde syzt,  
 Deue meñ to here, : my ston hap p<sup>t</sup> myzt,  
 255 Doume men for to speke, : halte men to goon,  
 Fol<sup>9</sup> for to make wyse ; : ne is pis a wondur stoon ?  
 Hedir I it haue brouzt : for pe child<sup>9</sup> sake ;  
 zif p<sup>a</sup> makist me speke wit hym, : I wole it hym be take.  
 pe child<sup>9</sup> mayster answerid : : broper, leet me se  
 260 & aproue pat ston, : zif he soch be,  
 So pou hast me fore told ; : ffor erst, be my leute,  
 To take hym to iosaphat : tit pe no leue of me.

- Do wey, quap pis good mon, : I swere be my sloue :  
 3if þ<sup>a</sup> sey þ<sup>t</sup> ston, : he þe wold greue ;
- 265 ffor, þey my ston in some kind : he þoþe good & ryche,  
 In an oþer kind he harmyþ, : I segge þe trewelyche :  
 He þat sey my stoon : in clene lyf moot be,  
 & clene yþen & gode haue, : or, I segge þe,  
 He hym wole make blind anon, : or don hym harm more ;
- 270 & me þinkeþ to soþe : þ<sup>t</sup> þyn yþen beþ sore.  
 Wel, quap pis child<sup>9</sup> mayster, : seþþe it so is,  
 In clene lyf am I nouȝt, : I know it wel I wis,  
 & myn yþen beþ sore, : wel I woot, al so,  
 þer fore I nele þy ston se, : lest he me harm do ;
- 275 To my lord I wille go : & do þe hym come to ;  
 þan myȝtow þy fayre ston : schewe ryȝt so.  
 þo he com to Iosaphat, : þ<sup>e</sup> child fayre hym grette,  
 & vpon þe bench ; fayre he hym sette.  
 Of o þing, quap barlam, : syre, þou has wel wrouȝt :
- 280 þat to þing þat semyþ feyr : þ<sup>a</sup> ȝeuist þy wille nouȝt.  
 ffor a ryche king was sumtyme, : þ<sup>t</sup> rood in his chare  
 Nobeliche about, : þoþe her & þare.  
 Þore men he mette aday : by þe wey gon.  
 þou he were ryche king, : to hem he leep anon,
- 285 þow þey were þore : & loþlich on to se.  
 þe king to hem wel myldelich : sat adoun a kne,  
 & dede hem wel grot honour. : þe men þ<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> hem were  
 þer of hadde wondur : & speke to gedir þere :  
 þat soþe a king as he was ne scholde nouȝt do so ;
- 290 But þer was non of hem : þ<sup>t</sup> dorst ondirneme hym þo.  
 To his þroþer þey told : afterward þis þing,  
 & þe þroþir askid seþþe, : why he did so, þe king.  
 þe king answerid : to morwe : come hedir erliche to me,  
 & I wille of þis þing : þe soþe telle þe.
- 295 þis king hadde a wondir wone to hy & to lowe :  
 Whan aman dampnyd be, þe king wolde blowe  
 At his ȝate, þ<sup>t</sup> were dampnyd, : atrompe ; þ<sup>t</sup> fel þer two,  
 To schewe þ<sup>t</sup> he were tretour, : & dampnyd al so.  
 þe king anon on euin : his troumpour haþ sent
- 300 To bloue at his þroþer ȝate, : to schewe his iugement.  
 Allas, quap his þroþer, : what haue I mys do nowe ?  
 I here my lord<sup>9</sup> troumpour : at my ȝate blowe,  
 Now I woot to soþe : þ<sup>t</sup> I wory vndo ;  
 God woot þ<sup>t</sup> I haue : nouȝt agilt þer to.
- 305 þis mon gan hym dyȝte : & mad his testament,  
 ffor he wend to soþe : to be hangid or schent.  
 In foule cloþ<sup>9</sup> on morw<sup>3</sup> : to þe king<sup>9</sup> ȝate he com.

- po þe portor it wist, : fayre he him in nom,  
 & haþ hym fayre anon ryzt : to fore þe king brouzt.  
 310 To fore þe king he fel on kne, : & fayre hym be souzt :  
 I noot what I haue þe agilt : in word ne in pouzt ;  
 Haue mercy on me : for his loue þ<sup>t</sup> þe bouzt !  
 þan seyde þe king : : arys ! what eyliþ þe ?  
 I noot noþing þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> hast : mys do a zen me ;  
 315 Syre, me pinkey þ<sup>a</sup> dredist : þe blast of my beme,  
 I auzt to dred sorere, : gif þ<sup>a</sup> took zeme,  
 pilke lord⁹ beme : þat god & mon is,  
 To whom bope nyzt & day : I do to moche amys ;  
 I may deme þy body, : of þy soule haue I no myzt.  
 320 & he may bope body and soule. : to his wille dyzt ;  
 þy bodylich pyne : wold be doon in a day,  
 But þe pyne of þe soule, : þ<sup>a</sup> wost wel, lastiþ ay.  
 pou me askedist gister day : a wel wondir þing :  
 Why I honourid pore men, : & I am so hy a king ?  
 325 þat my lord⁹ trompour⁹ : I woot to sope it were,  
 þat bope day & nyzt : blouep in myn ere,  
 & biddiþ me þ<sup>t</sup> I schold : come to mendement,  
 Lest I be to helle dampnid : þorw³ pure iugement.  
 Allas pilke hard doom, : þat mon schal so be schent,  
 330 Whan þe wrecche soule : is to helle went !  
 Now wost þe reson, : þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> me askedist er ;  
 Sykir, leue broþer, : I dede it for fer.  
 þe king leet make : foure fatis anon.  
 þe tweyze he leet gilde wit out : & feyr be goon,  
 335 Of stinking bon⁹ : þeke he leet fille,  
 Vnnepe me dede hem þer in, : so foul it gan smelle.  
 þe oper twey he leet smere : wit pych & ter al so,  
 & wit gold & ryche ston⁹ : filde hem bo.  
 After pilke wreyeris : he leet sende þere,  
 340 & askid, of þe fatis : woch þe rycher were.  
 & þey hym answerid : & seyde anon :  
 pilke two þ<sup>t</sup> were : wit gold so be gon.  
 þe king heet anon ryzt : þat þey were vndo ;  
 Soche asmel þer com out : of þo fatis two,  
 345 þat vnnepe anyman : myzt þer a bout⁹ hyde.  
 þus it fariþ, quap þe king, : by þis world⁹ pryde ;  
 Feyr it gloriþ w<sup>t</sup> oute, : wit inne it is nouzt ;  
 Mony monn⁹ soule : to helle it haþ brouzt.  
 þo leet þe king anon : vndo þ<sup>t</sup> oper two ;  
 350 Gold ryche & ston⁹ : me fond in hem þo.  
 þus it faryþ, quap þe king, : by pore men I wis,  
 þ<sup>t</sup> wit gode verteuis : winnyþ heuin blis ;

- Wit oute þey bep loplich, : w<sup>t</sup> inne ryche,  
 For þey leue hard lyf : & hat sinne treuliche.
- 355 Here ge mowe þe sope<sup>t</sup> alle men I se,  
 Wheyper of pese two vesselis : schold honourid be ;  
 But þe world dop a mys : & honouriþ rychesse,  
 & takiþ wel lyte kep : to come in any goodnesse ;  
 þerfore mon moot nede, : þ<sup>t</sup> wole to god be take,
- 360 Leue his oune wille : & pis world forsake.  
 After þat pis king seyde, : Iosaphat, I rede þe,  
 þat þ<sup>a</sup> loue ihesu crist, : þ<sup>t</sup> deyde on þe tre.  
 3it barlam hym told : an oþer þing I wis :  
 Ihesu crist hym selue, : þat god & man is ;
- 365 He hap in hym self : fayr kynd<sup>9</sup> þre,  
 Holy writ w<sup>t</sup>nessiþ it : & hap I told it me :  
 ffadir he is, & ek sone, : & ek holy gost ;  
 & alle þing he made : þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> seyst & wost.  
 Mon he made to haue be : euer in paradys,
- 370 Amon it a gilte : þorw an appil I wis ;  
 God hym seyde þat he schold : euere leue in wele & blisse,  
 & of his oune wille : neuere more to mysse ;  
 But an oþer þing þer to : god to mon be heet :  
 þat he scholde deyze, : 3if he þe appil eet,
- 375 & lese alle merþe : & þole alle wo.  
 & out of paradis I cast : sekir he was so,  
 ffor he ete þe appil : þorw þe deuelis spelle ;  
 God hym 3af an hard doom, : his soule went to helle,  
 & al þat of hym com, : for soþe ich segge þe,
- 380 So wroþ was god w<sup>t</sup> mon, : þat he nold hym se.  
 Mon hadde god forȝete, : þat on hym þouȝt he nouȝt,  
 But w<sup>t</sup> his oune hondin : he hap hym I wrouȝt ;  
 & honouriþ 3it, so þ<sup>a</sup> sest, : his oune werching,  
 & forsakiþ pilke god : þat made alle þing.
- 385 A boue mon wente atyme : & wit his bowe pleyde ;  
 Alytil brid he cauȝte, : þ<sup>t</sup> reuelich to hym seyde :  
 I bidde þe for þy lord<sup>9</sup> loue, : haue mercy on me !  
 For lytil good þ<sup>a</sup> schalt winne, : þou þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> me sle ;  
 Leet me freliche leue : & in my wey fle,
- 390 & I þe wole teche anon : wisdom<sup>9</sup> þre ;  
 & 3if þ<sup>a</sup> hem holde, : þ<sup>a</sup> schalt þe beter be.  
 Do sey, quap þis oþer, : & þ<sup>a</sup> schalt haue lyf of me.  
 Ne leue þ<sup>a</sup> neuer alle þing : þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> myȝt here,  
 For men lyep ofte moche, : whan þey speke I fere ;
- 395 Ne sorwe þ<sup>a</sup> nouȝt to sore : for þing þat is lore,  
 3if it ne may be found, : ne sorw þ<sup>a</sup> nouȝt þer fore  
 Ne desire þ<sup>a</sup> neuer þ<sup>t</sup> þing ; þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> myȝt haue nouȝt,

- For I wis al soche wil : comypp of idil pouzt.  
 Mafey, quap pis good mon, : soþ þ<sup>u</sup> seyst to me.  
 400 & wit pilke word : þe brid he leet fle. •  
 þo it was vp on hy, : þ<sup>e</sup> brid hym seyde to :  
 I wis þ<sup>u</sup> dedist gret folyze, : þo þ<sup>u</sup> leet me go,  
 ffor among my gott9 : I haue aryche ston,  
 Also gret as an eyz, : gret verteu is þer on ;  
 405 Hadde þ<sup>u</sup> me slaue : & þ<sup>t</sup> ston take,  
 Euere þ<sup>u</sup> haddist be ryche : for þ<sup>e</sup> ston9 sake ;  
 But for þ<sup>u</sup> hast þe ston lore, : I wis þ<sup>u</sup> hast mys do.  
 þo þ<sup>e</sup> mon pis herd, : sykir hym was ful wo,  
 & for þe lore of þis ston : he gan to syke sore,  
 410 & pouzte how3 he myzte : þe brid cacche more.  
 Brid, he seyde, cum to me, : & , whil þ<sup>u</sup> art alyue,  
 I wole þe finde at þy nede, : at hom w<sup>t</sup> my wyue ;  
 Afeyr cage I wille make : for þe loue of þe,  
 & in ioy & in myrp : þer in þ<sup>u</sup> schalt be ;  
 415 Moche þ<sup>u</sup> schalt her after : haue þy wille ;  
 Ne be þ<sup>u</sup> noping a drad : þat me schal þe spille !  
 fforþ fley pis lyte brid, : & nold no leng abyde.  
 þis zong mon wente wit his bouz : euere be syde,  
 & proud al þ<sup>t</sup> he myzt, : þis bryd for to sle.  
 420 þ<sup>e</sup> wisdom9, quap þ<sup>e</sup> bryd, þ<sup>t</sup> I þe tauzt : þ<sup>u</sup> hast lore alle þre ;  
 Herkene now how, : & I þe wolle telle.  
 Beter Is haue þan weche(!), : & go, 3if þ<sup>u</sup> schalt deyzc, þ<sup>u</sup> dwelle.  
 A ston, so gret as an ey, : how myzt in my wombe be þ<sup>e</sup>  
 Al my body is nouzt so gret, : as ech mon may se.  
 425 þ<sup>u</sup> schet for to haue þ<sup>t</sup> , : þou ne myzt come þer two,  
 For I þe segge þ<sup>u</sup> ne schalt : haue me neuere mo.  
 Wel I woot þ<sup>u</sup> art sory, : for þ<sup>u</sup> me hast lore ;  
 þ<sup>u</sup> dost þer of folyze, : I for bede it þe be fore.  
 þ9 it fariþ be men of þis world, : þat leueþ amys  
 430 Vppon here false god9, : þ<sup>t</sup> here oune werk is ;  
 þey sceþe help of here god9, : þ<sup>t</sup> mowe nouzt do,  
 & bydde of hem mony þing, : þ<sup>t</sup> þey ne mowe come two ;  
 Wel me may wite to soop : þ<sup>t</sup> þey beþ deue & doumbe,  
 & hem selue helpe ne mowe, : sekir, in no stounde.  
 435 þis world is to hem lych, : whó so trist þer two,  
 Moche he worþ be gylyd, : al day we fynde so ;  
 þ<sup>u</sup> seyst þ<sup>t</sup> þis world : tornyþ vp so down ;  
 Now mon is in feld, : & now he is in toun,  
 I ne finde nomon : þ<sup>t</sup> may dayis þre  
 440 ffor noping þat he may do : in one stede be ;  
 For þe flesch is so lostful : þ<sup>t</sup> synnyþ, ech day  
 It falliþ in to sinne, : forsope telle I may.

- So þat mon moot hym self : & þis world forsake,  
 ȝif he wille hym self : redy to god make.
- 445 I woot þt þey beþ I lyche, : þt þis world louip þ9,  
 To amon þt me telleþ of : in prouerbis I wis.  
 Amon wente atyme, : so we fynde in geste,  
 Hym self for to pleyȝe, : in wilde foreste.  
 An vnycorn hym mette, : þat pouȝt hym to sle.
- 450 For doute of þe dep : þis mon gan to fle.  
 þe vny corn ran swyȝe, : þe mon fleyȝ euer mo ;  
 So þt he com to a dep pit, : he fel wel nyȝ þo.  
 By abouȝ of a lyte tre : anon he hym hent,  
 & held hym swyȝe faste, : þat he a doun ne went.
- 455 To þe ground of þe pit : he gan to loke þo :  
 Aswyȝe grisliche dragoun : he sey on grounde go ;  
 For to cacche þis mon : he ȝenede faste ;  
 Fer com out of his moup : at eueriche ablaste.  
 Vppon þe rote of þe tre : twey mees he seyȝ,
- 460 þt hadde al þe rote : frete wel nyȝ ;  
 þt o mous was whit, : þt oȝer blak was ;  
 Me pinkeþ þis mon : was in a wondir cas.  
 In þat stede þer he stood : he sayȝ addris foure,  
 þt pot out of þe erȝe here hedis, : & on hym ȝonne loure.
- 465 In þe crop of þe tre : he say an honys drope ;  
 For þe swetnesse þer of : þer on he cast his hope ;  
 Al þe peril for ȝat he, : þt he was in I do,  
 For þe swetnesse of þe hony : þt he say þer þo.  
 Who myȝte aske þilke mon, : ȝif he ne did folyȝe ?
- 470 I wene neuer mon, : but he wolde lyȝe.  
 By þe ony corn, þat I of telle, : dep I ondirstonde,  
 þat hontyȝ boȝe man & best, : & al þt is in londe ;  
 þou he fle neuer so fast, : ech mon deȝȝe schal ;  
 Dep ne spariȝ noȝing, : I woot, it chastip al.
- 475 þe pit is þis world, : þat is so ful of wo,  
 Of couetyȝe & enuȝze : & of wrappe al so,  
 & of oȝer sinn9, þt beþ many & fale ;  
 Nys nomon on lyue : þt ham may telle by tale.  
 þe lytil tre is monn9 lyf, : þt is so vnstedefast,
- 480 þat wit mony perilis a doun is I cast :  
 Wit syknesse & wt elde : & wt slaȝt also ;  
 Nys no mon on lyue : þt may triste þer two.  
 þe dragon in þe pitt9 ground, : helle moup it is,  
 þat ȝenȝ after mann9 soule : nyȝt & day I wis ;
- 485 þer is boȝe pyne & wep, : þt lastip wt oute ende ;  
 Wo is hym on lyue : þt þedir schal wende.  
 þe whyte mous & þe blak, : þt han þe tre I bete,

- Bep þe nyzt & þe day, : ech man may wite ;  
 Ech of hem amossel takip : of monn9 lyf ;  
 490 How he may be glad, : I not, for child nē wif.  
 þe foure addrin bep foure element9, : þt be trende þe tre,  
 & by here myzt wilwid : þat it I schortid be ;  
 Foure tym9 of þe 3er : þey mowe be al so,  
 þat euerich schortip monn9 lyf, : go wher euer he go.  
 495 þe lytil hony, þt he say, : is þis world9 blis,  
 þat wel lytil is worp, : ech mon woot þis ;  
 For þer was here nē ellis whare : neuer no mon  
 þat leuid on erpe þre dayis : wit oute care non.  
 Lo þese zonge childrin : þat ondirstonde nouzt :  
 500 By here wep me may wite : In care þey be brouzt.  
 Whan me sep it is lyte worp, : þis wikkid world9 blis,  
 Me pinkep þt eche mon doy : al to moche amys,  
 3if he for a lyte swetnesse : trist to moche þer two,  
 & forȝete þe perelis : þt he is in I do.  
 505 How man may triste lyte to þis world, : by on lytil spelle,  
 Who so wole vndirstonde, : forsope I may telle.  
 Aman lydid a tyme : þt hadde frend9 þre ;  
 More he louid þat on þan hym self, : 3if it myzte be ;  
 As moche as hym self : þt oþer he louid þo,  
 510 & wold by his myzt : euere for hym do ;  
 þe pridde he louid a lyte : & for hym he did.  
 þis good mon was bayly : of aryche sted,  
 þer he lyuid long, & hadde his wille I wis  
 Of þt ilke ryche stede : & alle þt þer inne is.  
 515 I wreyid was seppe þis good mon : to þe king wel faste.  
 þe king hym ofsente, : his acount9 to caste.  
 þo nyste þis good mon : what on erpe to do ;  
 He caryd bope nyzt & day, : & þolid moche wo,  
 By hym self he wep : & made moche mone,  
 520 ffor he ne hadde of his acount9 : knowleche none.  
 þer nas clerk þt coude þo : help hym þer two,  
 & nedis his a count9 : he moste zeue þo.  
 To my frend9, he þouȝt, : I wille anon go  
 & look, wher þey wole nōw3 : any help me do ;  
 525 My frend9 þey were, : þey seyðin er þis,  
 Whil I hadde my wille : of þese world9 blis ;  
 3if þat þey bep kynde, : 3it þey bep al so,  
 þey nelle me nouzt forsake, : þou I be falle in wo.  
 Anon to pilke frend : he wente be fore.  
 530 þat he louid as hym self, : & aparty more.  
 Lyztliche he was wel comyd, : as hym þoutȝe þare,  
 So men bep comeliche : þt bep falle in care.



- pis mon seyde : leue frend, : moche I triste to þe,  
 þæt þu me helpe in my (nede) : for loue I bidde þe ;  
 535 þenk vpon þe gret loue, : þæt þu hast loud me,  
 In my grete nede, : for loue I bidde þe ;  
 For I me drede sore : lest þæt I be schent,  
 To gild myn account : þe king me hap of sent.  
 & he hym answerid shortly : : what is þæt to me ?  
 540 gif þou hast wel I do, : þe bet þou schalt be ;  
 Euil moot he falle : þæt afoot wit þe go !  
 I knowe þe nougt, : what schold I wit þe do ?  
 Oper frend I haue, : to dwelle w<sup>t</sup> I wis,  
 Hem I wille glade, : & make ioy & blis,  
 545 For w<sup>t</sup> me þey dwellij : al pis longe day ;  
 Good mon, dwelle nougt, : but go forþ in þy way !  
 pis good mon be þougt hym, : & was aschamyd sore,  
 & þougt þæt to pilke frend : he myzte triste na more.  
 3ern he bad godd<sup>9</sup> help, : sykir hym was ful wo ;  
 550 & to his oper frend sekir : he gan go.  
 To hym he seyde : leue frend, : þu wost wel, or pis  
 þu me louedist moche, : þo I was in my blis ;  
 Help me in my tene, : for loue I bidde þe !  
 To zilde myn a count<sup>9</sup> : þe king hap sent for me.  
 555 Sertis, quap þis oper frend, : þy tene greueþ me sore ;  
 & wel þu wite to soþe : þat I nele do na more :  
 To þe castel zato : wit þe I wille go,  
 & sepe torne hom a zen, : whan I haue do so ;  
 So moche I haue to done, : þæt I ne may tent to þe ;  
 560 þu most do þy beste, : gif it þy wille be,  
 ffor, be þou sykir, I nele, : for no maner sake,  
 Let be myn oune werk : & to an oper take.  
 Carful was þis good mon : & wente þenn<sup>9</sup> þo ;  
 Helples he was in his nede : for hem bope two.  
 565 Me pinket þæt his loue : was euil be sette ;  
 I rede ech man his loue : to be set bette.  
 To his priddre frend : þis sely mon is go,  
 & al hap to hym told : his care & his wo.  
 Lene frend, he seyde, : it greueþ me wel sore,  
 570 Why I was of myzt, : þæt I ne did for þe more ;  
 But for þe lyte lone, : þat I haue loud þe,  
 In my grete nede I : bidde þu helpe me ;  
 My lord hap after me sent, : þer of me stont drede,  
 & I woot, wit oute þe : ne may I nougt spede.  
 575 Be stille, quap þis oper, : þer of is non eyze ;  
 I wole þe helpe : by alle pilke weyze :  
 Be fore þe lord my self : I wole wit þe go,

- & zilde þe þy mede, : þt þu hast for me do ;  
 For ech peny worp good, : þt þu hast me do,  
 580 I wole þe zeue an hondrid, : seþpe þu hast nede þer two,  
 & I wole þe helpe, : be þu nouȝt a gast !  
 þat þu ne schalt for no þing : In presoun ben I cast ;  
 & be sykir euere mo, : whil þt I may stond,  
 þou ne schalt be take : in to þy fomen hond.  
 585 þis was a good frend, : for to triste to ;  
 Leuere I hadde soch afrend : þan þe oper two.  
 þe ferste frend þt was so fals, : þat I of told,  
 þt amon more þan hym self : on erþe loue wold,  
 It is world⁹ catel, : þt fayliþ at þe nede ;  
 590 He þat most it gadirit : most liueþ in drede,  
 ffor worldis good hem doþ : in peril & in wo,  
 & mony mon for world⁹ good : beþ to depe do ;  
 þou amon it loue moch, : it zildip liþer mede,  
 & mon þt it seruip : ne may to heuin spede,  
 595 ffor mon ne may I fere, : ffor nouȝt þt he may do,  
 Serue wel þe false world : & oure lord also ;  
 þerfore mon haþ fre wille, : þt he may wel chese  
 ffor to winne heuin : oper to lese.  
 þat oper frend þat I of spak : ofte me seþ,  
 600 ffor monn⁹ wif & childrin : & erþelich þing it beþ ;  
 To þe pitt⁹ brinke : wit þe dede þey wille go,  
 & seþpe torne hom, : here ded⁹ for to do.  
 Gold, seluer, & lond : þou he haue be zete,  
 Wit inne twey ȝer or þre : sone he worp for ȝete.  
 605 Asely almesse bred for hym : oper whyle me wole zeue.  
 Wherþoru þe sely soule : mow þe beter leue ;  
 So may þe sely soule : ligge wel long  
 In þe pyne of purgatory, : & be pynyð strong,  
 Er eny of his frend⁹ : aryȝt hym wil helpe.  
 610 þat þey beþ gode frend⁹, : I not he may ȝelpe.  
 þe þridde frend þt I of spak, : þt was trewe & gode,  
 þat þis mon In is wele : wel lyte ondirstode :  
 Hope loue & truþe : & oper almes dede,  
 þat mon scholde loue wel : þat scholde good lyf lede.  
 615 But þese gode þeuis : of lond beþ dreue echone  
 þorw⁹ wrappe pride & couetyse, : þt beþ here fone ;  
 þerfore þis fals world : goþ by experment ;  
 & men for defaute of loue : ofte beþ I schent.  
 þe preson, þt he schold in be do, : þt is þe pyne of helle,  
 620 þt for defaute of account⁹ : mon schal in dwelle.  
 þe dedis of his lyf : schal his account⁹ be ;  
 þer to ech mon mot tak kep : þat hopip sauid to be.

- Good is þ<sup>t</sup> ech mon þenk, : þ<sup>t</sup> he ne fayle nouȝt,  
 How he haþ his lyf leuid, : in werk word & pouȝt.  
 625 þ<sup>e</sup> soumme of his a count9 : man mot a ȝer take  
 Swyþe mony tym9, : good acount9 to make ;  
 For at euery tyme : þ<sup>t</sup> mon haþ sinne do,  
 Forme of a count9 : he moot make þer two ;  
 ffor euery mys dede : In dette he is I wis  
 630 For to ȝeue acount9, : & ellis he doþ amys.  
 But þe tayl be to broke : & þe gilt for ȝeue,  
 Monn9 soule may nouȝt : in heuen blisse leue.  
 Ech day mon be houip : his tayl to breke,  
 Er, I woot to soþe, : in helle he schal be steke ;  
 635 Oper at on a count9 : amon may breke echon,  
 But beter it were, me pinkep, to breke on & on.  
 þe fomen, fro whom he wold hym kep, : þe deuelis bep I wis,  
 þ<sup>t</sup> makip monn9 soule : euer to don amys ;  
 þ<sup>u</sup> þe soule it witsegge, : & þe dede be I do,  
 640 For þ<sup>t</sup> ilke dede : to pyne þey scholle bo ;  
 Worse fon þer bep none, : þan þey bep I wis,  
 For þey fondip w<sup>t</sup> here myȝt : to make men don amys.  
 þerfore I rede ech man : kepe hym fro his foon,  
 & purchase soche frend9 : þat he mowe triste vpon.  
 645 How mon hym schal dȝste : her in world þis,  
 ȝif he wole wit hele : come to heuin blis,  
 By atake me myȝt lerne, : who so wold here,  
 þat he myȝt his lyf lede : in þe beter manere.  
 A maner was in a contre, : þ<sup>t</sup> ech ȝer chese þey wold  
 650 A prince, astrong mon : þ<sup>t</sup> hem gouerne schold ;  
 þat man king scholde be, : ac at serteyn tyme I wis,  
 But nomon scholde wite : woch were tyme his ;  
 For þ<sup>e</sup> men of þe contre, : whan here tyme com,  
 Out of þe lond hym wold fieme : al w<sup>t</sup> oute doom  
 655 In to aserteyn yle, : þer he schold dwelle,  
 To suffre sorwe & wo : more þan I may telle.  
 On atyme it be fel, : astrong mon þey tokin  
 & made hym king of þe lond, : hem alle for to lokin.  
 þis man hym so be lound : w<sup>t</sup> men of þe contre,  
 660 & suffrid ech of hem : his mayster to be :  
 Al þ<sup>t</sup> þey wold rede, : al þ<sup>t</sup> þey wold do,  
 & wende hem fynde frend9, : & fond hem as fo ;  
 For, þo þey sey here tyme, : þey nom hym at þe last  
 & wit moche schame : out of þe lond hym cast.  
 665 þer he lay wel longe : & polyd pyne & wo,  
 Ne myȝte nomon telle þe sorws : þ<sup>t</sup> he polid þo.  
 þo þis man was out cast, : an oper þey ches anon

- To be king of þe lond : & weld hem ech on.  
 þe king, þo he was chose, : was wel war  
 670 By þe king afore hym, : þt was mad so bar :  
 In to þe yle, þt I of spak, : þe tresour he hent,  
 Wit wel trewe messenger : anon þedir it sent,  
 In moche wele & ryches : for he wolde lyue,  
 Whan he were par auenture : in to þis yle I dreue ;  
 675 þefore he hap in þe yle : his tresour I do.  
 Al redy he it fond, : þo he com þer two.  
 þe contre þt I of told, : þe foule world it is ;  
 þe borgeys of þe contre : sinn9 it bep y wis,  
 As pride gloteny & couetyse, : & oþer sinn9 also,  
 680 þat euere dwellip in þis world, : go mon wher he go.  
 þe strong mon þt is king, : þ is, I ondirstonde,  
 Euerymon & woman : þt leuip in þis londe.  
 Kyng þey bep chose I wis : hem self for to gyze,  
 & to do wel oþer wroþerhele : he hadde þe maystryze.  
 685 þis yle, wel I woot, : purgatoryze is,  
 þat mon schal inne dwelle, : after he dop amys.  
 þe tresour is worldis good, : þt ech mon wt his myzt  
 Strengþith hym to winne : bope day & nyzt.  
 3if he send his tresour : be fore in to þe yle  
 690 By pore men for godd9 loue, : he noot woch whyle  
 Ech peny & peneworþ : þer he schal fynde,  
 & he may loke after þat, : þat he leueþ be hinde.  
 I rede þefore þt nomon : triste to haue socoure  
 Of non erþeliche frend, : ne of nen secatoure,  
 695 But do so þt he mowe : his tresour finde wel,  
 ffor þt he leueþ be hinde hym : he leseþ ech a del ;  
 & pou me wele hym ouzt zeue, : it worþ late & long,  
 pou þe soule ligge : in peyne swyþe strong.  
 þo he hadde al þis I seyð : þe child hym answerid anon :  
 700 Syre, god zilðe þe þy xeed ! : wt þe I wele9 goon,  
 3if it be þy wille, : I nele neuere mo  
 Parte out of þy company, : for wele ne for wo.  
 Barlam hym answerid : : 3if þu do þis,  
 To aryche monn9 sone : þu art lych I wis :  
 705 A gret lord9 douzter : to wyue he schold take.  
 He answerid & seyð, : he nolde haue no make.  
 & for he nold in no wis : to here I spousid be,  
 Out of his fadir lond : wel fer he gan fle.  
 Forþ he went in his wey, : as god hym had dyzt,  
 710 & at alyte pore hous : his in he took anyzt.  
 þo it be fel to þe tyme, : he to his bed gan go ;  
 & þo he hadde a whyle I leyze, : be syde he lokid þo,

- & sey þe pore monn<sup>9</sup> douzter, : þt zhe knelid a doun  
& þonkid god swype : in here orysoun.
- 715 Moche wondir hym þouzt : þat zhe dede so,  
For hym þouzt þt god here had : lyte good do.  
To þe mayde he spak þer of, : & askid, how it were  
þt zhe þankid so god : for lytil good þere ;  
& seyð to here : þou þy god : þe hadde zoue gold & fe,
- 720 þa ne myztist hym more þonk, : al so þinkeþ me.  
þe pore mayde answerde : & seyde to hym þis :  
þe hyze god of heuene : I wile honoure I wis,  
For, as lytil medesyne : gret euil doþ a wey,  
Al so alte world<sup>9</sup> good : wel moche helpe may.
- 725 To maner godis, I find, : þer beþ in world þis :  
þt on nys nouzt oure, : I woot wel I wis,  
þt oþer is oure oune, : whil godd<sup>9</sup> wille is :  
þt beþ oure fyf wittis, : þt he lenep vs I wis ;  
To some men he lenyþ some, : & to some men echon ;
- 730 þe more þat he vs lenyþ, : þe more þonk is þer on.  
þe worldis good is nouzte oure, : for nouzt it wele go,  
& for it wole by on whyle : azen come vs two ;  
& now it wole al elene : erpelich men forsake,  
& now it wole holliche : to aman hym be take.
- 735 To an heep of snow<sup>3</sup> : likene it I may,  
þt is to day wel breme, : & to morw molt a way.  
Erpeliche good he haþ me be nome, : þt me ne trist nouzt.  
But myne fyf witt<sup>9</sup> : he haþ be nome nouzt.  
After his lyk nesse : he haþ mad me,
- 740 & to my seruise zoue : al þt I may se ;  
He haþ me grantid : þat I haue knowleching  
Of good & of harm, : to kepe me fro sinnyng.  
To his blis he haþ me clepid : þorw his holy grace,  
& in heuin he haþ mad : þt I haue aplace.
- 745 perfore I hym wole hoñoure, : as ryzt is,  
For pilke grete zift<sup>9</sup>, : ellis I dede amys.  
þo he þis herd, : his wil com hym wel blyue  
þat þis pore mayde : he wold haue to wyue.  
To here fadir he went, : & haþ of hym I bede
- 750 þat he hym to wyue zoue : his douzter in þe stede.  
þe pore mon answerid : : vnkinde it were to þe,  
Soche apore womon : þy wif for to be,  
Euer more þis child : bad wel zerne I wis ;  
& þe fadir answerid : & seyde to hym þis :
- 755 I ne may þis mayde : zoue þe nouzt to spouse,  
zif þa here wole lede : to þy fadir house ;  
For I ne haue no douzter, : þou wost wel, but here on,

- & I woot wel þat gret eld : 'is come me vpon ;  
 3if þou wolt here haue : sekir I segge þe  
 760 þat 3e moot bope : dwelle here wit me.  
 þis 3ong mon answerid : wit speche wel stille :  
 Wit þe I wille be leue : & be at þy wille.  
 His ryche cloþ9 he of did : & oþer abit to hym nom,  
 & to þis old pore mon : wel bouxum he be com.  
 765 þis 3ong mon he be tok : his douzter to wyue.  
 Bope þey hym seruid : wit here myzt wel blyue.  
 þo þis old man had : þis 3ong mon asayid  
 & in his seruise : swyþe wel apayid,  
 In to his chaumbir on a day : þis 3ong mon he ladde,  
 770 & scheuid hym þe tresour : þt he þer in hadde.  
 þo þis 3ong mon it say : to wondre he be gan ;  
 Hym þouzt rycher tresour : hadde neuer no man.  
 Now3, quap þis old mon : for þu hast seruid me,  
 Al þis tresour anon : I wole it 3oue þe,  
 775 þat & moche more : I wille her after schewe ;  
 þt þu hast seruid me : ne schal þe noþing rewe.  
 Allas, quap Josaphat : þis is seyð be me,  
 & wel I woot to soþe : it auzte wel to be,  
 & wel I woot to soþ : of me þu myzt it make ;  
 780 þerfore, 3if it were þy wille : I wold me be take.  
 & 3if it were þy wille : I wold wyte of þe  
 Of hou mony 3er9 : þt þu old be.  
 I wot, quap þis oþer, fyf and sixty 3er : myn elde is.  
 3e I wis, quap iosaphat : & more I wis,  
 785 ffor I it may segge : al wit oute wene  
 þt þu art of elde : sixty 3er & tene.  
 Sykir, quap barlam : þu hast wel ondirstonde I wis  
 Alle þe 3er9 þt I haue : leuid in world þis ;  
 But fyue & syxty 3er : I haue cristin mon be :  
 790 pilke I auzt acounte, I wis : so þinke me ;  
 þe oþer a counte I nouzt : ne nele neuere mo,  
 For I woot þt I was : in mys be leue þo ;  
 & I wone forsoþe : in þe wildirness of samar.  
 Wolde gôð, quap iosaphat : þat we were bope þar !  
 795 & þedir I wole now3 : wit þy leue go wt þe.  
 Wite it wel, quap barlam : it may nouzt so be,  
 ffor wel I woot to soþe : fro me þu worst take,  
 & mony holy men slawe : schol be for þy sake ;  
 But þou schalt at þy wille : come þedir to me ;  
 800 But cristni þe I wille : 3if þu wolt it so be.  
 I wis, quap þis oþer : al redy I am þer two ;  
 Swyþe glad were I : were þt I do.

- Josaphat was cristenyd : þo of barlam.  
 & after he hym kiste, : þo he his leue nam :  
 805 In to desert he went, : godd9 will to abyde.  
 þat Josaphat was cristenyd : anon me wiste wyde.  
 So þt it com sone : to auenne þe king.  
 Wel I woot, sory he was, : þo he herd þe tyding.  
 Allas, seyde auenne, : my sone is for lore ;  
 810 Me for þinkeþ þt euer : he was I bore ;  
 & I ne haue, wel ge witeþ, : sone but hym on,  
 & þou I wolde, quap þe king, : þat his lyf dayis were doon.  
 I wold, quap þe king, : he were brougt afore me,  
 þat I myzt þe soþe wite, : what his encheson be.  
 815 Anon wit þilke word : Josaphat me nam  
 & askid, who hym taugte. : he seyde : barlam.  
 Arachis het a gret lord : þat wt þe king was þo.  
 I woot, he seyde to þe king, : ful wel what þu schalt do :  
 An old ermyte I knowe, : in þy lond nys non soche,  
 820 In body he is & in spech : barlam I liche,  
 He be leueþ trewliche : on oure lawe ;  
 3if þu after hym send, : he wole be wel fawe ;  
 Send after hym quiklich : þt he come þe two,  
 & al þt barlam hap seyde, : I woot he wol vn do ;  
 825 fferst he schal him feyne : þt he cristin is,  
 & after he schal ben ouer come, : & wel suffre þis.  
 Arachis & þe king þo : in to wildirnesse gan wende,  
 For to nyme barlam, : 3if þey myzt come hym hende.  
 þo þey sey þt þey ne myzt : barlam finde nouzt,  
 830 Nacor for hym þey haue nome : & to þe court brouzt.  
 Al þt he schold do : þey taugt hym be þe weyze.  
 He seyde, he wold gladlich, : & leue for non eyze.  
 Anon þo þe king was : hem to court I come,  
 Me tolde to Josaphat : hou barlam was I nome.  
 835 Sore wep þis zong mon : þo for þilk tydinge,  
 His yzen he cast vp to heuin : and his hondin gan wringe.  
 Lord, he seyde, ihesu crist, : what schal barlam do ?  
 I woot, my fadir wold fayn : þt he were for do ;  
 I nold in no wise : þt he deyd for me,  
 840 Fayn I wold hym helpe : on lyue to þe.  
 Wit þat ilke word : an aungel to hym alyzte.  
 þe zong mon was a gast, : for he schon so bryzte.  
 Josaphat, he seyde, : ne drede no þinge þe !  
 Barlam is in þe stede : þer he auzt to be ;  
 845 It is nouzt barlam, : but it nacor is,  
 þat þy fadir hap of sent, : to gyle þe I wis ;  
 perfore doþ god þe to wit : þat þu ne be a gast,

- For þorw<sup>3</sup> þe schal nacor : of þis lyf be cast.  
 Wit þat ilke word : þe aungel to heuin went.  
 850 Josaphat þonkid god : of grace þ<sup>t</sup> he sent.  
 þe fadir wente to his sone : & to hym seyde þis :  
 I haue nome barlam, : þ<sup>t</sup> tauzt þe of ihesus ;  
 I noot wher þ<sup>a</sup> it finde : to anoyze so me :  
 So feyr I haue be my myzt : euer honourid þe ;  
 855 Wel þ<sup>a</sup> wost how þ<sup>r</sup> hast : chaungid my fare.  
 ffor þ<sup>a</sup> hast my moche wele : tornyd in to care ;  
 Myn hore lokk<sup>9</sup> þ<sup>r</sup> hast mad : me for to drawe,  
 & I ne may þonk þe more : þan þou me haddist slawe ;  
 þe lyzt of myn yzen : þ<sup>a</sup> hast mad aslake,  
 860 For þou hast take to god : & myne god<sup>9</sup> forsake.  
 ffadir, quap iosephat, : god þ<sup>a</sup> þonke myzt :  
 I haue forsake derknes : & am I come to lyzt,  
 ffro al manere falsnesse : I me haue dyzt,  
 & þorw þe help of ihesu crist : I am take to ryzt ;  
 865 þerfore I þe bidde, : on ydil trauayl þou nouzt,  
 For þ<sup>a</sup> schalt fro ihesu crist : neuere torne my þouzt ;  
 Whan þ<sup>a</sup> myzt heuin : areche wit þin hond  
 & dreyze þe water of þe se, : so þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> se al lond,  
 þan myztow, forsope, : fadir, I segge þe,  
 870 ffro crist<sup>9</sup> seruise : ryzt so bringe me.  
 Allas, sone, þuap þe king, : who hap do me þis sorwe ?  
 But I þ<sup>t</sup> haue foluid þy wil : on euin & on morwe ?  
 Nas neuer king þ<sup>t</sup> myzt : his sone do  
 More þan I haue do to þe, : & þ<sup>a</sup> seruist me so !  
 875 þerfore, I se, þou art : azen myn heed aryse ;  
 Wel auzt heré afterward : oper men by me agryse  
 ffor to do his sone honour, : as I haue do þe,  
 Lest he aryse azen hym, : as þ<sup>a</sup> art a zen me.  
 Wel seyde þe clerk<sup>9</sup>, : þ<sup>t</sup> tolde me fore  
 880 In þe tym þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>a</sup> wer : of þy modir bore :  
 Vn buxum, þey seyde, : þ<sup>a</sup> scholdist be al þy lyf,  
 • & azen alle oure god<sup>9</sup> : w<sup>t</sup> þy myzt strif.  
 þerfore I segge : : but þ<sup>a</sup> do after me,  
 Euer mote her after : þy foman I wole be ;  
 885 þer was neuer fomon to oper : þ<sup>t</sup> dede so moche wo,  
 As I wole her after : wit my myzt þe do.  
 Josaphat answerid : : 3if þ<sup>a</sup> art fadir myn,  
 3if I torne to gode : it is manschipe þin ;  
 But ech fadir for his sone : ouzt glad be,  
 890 Whan þe sone to gode tornyd, : I wis, so þinkeþ me ;  
 & I þe segge for sope : : 3if þe ruiþ my gode,  
 I ne hold þe nouzt my fadir, : but I hold þe wode ;



- perfore I þe segge, : & wite it to soþe :  
 3if þu me greuist her after, : I nele nauzt come to þe,  
 895 But, as þu were an addre : þu woldist me stinge,  
 I wole þe fle, but þu þe chast : of þis ilke þinge ;  
 Ne I nele neuere more : fadir clepe þe ;  
 perfore do what þy wille is, : & tak no kep of me !  
 þan wente þe king, : þo he herde þis,  
 900 What for sorw & for wrap, : ny wood I wis.  
 To arachis, his gode frend, : he told al þis þing ;  
 & he wit fayre wordes : þus seyde to þe king :  
 For I wene me schal : childrin wt fayr speche  
 Beter chastise, þan me schal : wit beting & wt wreke.....  
 905 þo on morwe be king com, : & kyste his sone swete,  
 & bad hym þt he schold : his folý for lete.  
 Leue sone, he seyde, : lo myn hed is hor ;  
 þt þu me hast gramyd : þin hert auzt be sor ;  
 Woldistou leue þy folýze : & do after me,  
 910 Boþe vs myzt on lyue : þe beter þanne be ;  
 þou wost wel þt þy be leue : auzt be ryzt nouzt,  
 For who þer on be leuþ, : to deþe he is sone brouzt ;  
 & ech sone to his fadir auzt buxum be ;  
 perfore let be þy pride, : & be buxvm to me !  
 915 Loue me, & I wolle þe do : as ryzt is to done,  
 & but þu wolt, an oþer þing : I wil do wel sone.  
 Josaphat hym answerde : : tyme to loue it is,  
 & tyme is to hate, : þt wot ech man I wis ;  
 Of werre þer is tyme, : & of pes'also ;  
 920 & þt falliþ to tyme : ech mon auzte to do ;  
 Schame it were, 3if aman : schold fro god wende  
 To a deuil of helle, : þt wold his soule schende ;  
 For god seyþ hym self : : fadir & modir he is,  
 Who so fro hym tornyþ, : I wis, he doþ amys.  
 925 þo answerde þe fadir : : now3 I þe soþe se,  
 þat þu nelt in no wise : worche after me,  
 Wole we go I fere : down in to þe tonn,  
 & þer we mowe here afayr : disputacioun  
 Of barlam, þy mayster : In game & in plawe,  
 930 þat schal despute wit clerk9 : þt beþ of þe lawe :  
 Amessager al so : fram me schal out wende,  
 By whom I wole clerk9 : of oure lawe of sende ;  
 & þer þey scholle despute : fulle dayis þre.  
 3if barlam þorw3 his queintys : mowe mayster be,  
 935 I wole my self & my lond : torne þan to þe ;  
 & 3if barlam be ouer come, : torne þu þan to me.  
 fforþ went þis good child : wit his fadir þo.

- & þo þey come to þe stede : þer þo ded schold be do,  
 þe child seyde to nacor : : artow barlam ?  
 940 3e I wis, quap þis oper, : þu wost wel I it am.  
 Barlam, quap iosephat, : oping I warne þe :  
 þu schalt despute for þe fey : þu hast tauȝt me ;  
 Lok þt þu despute : for þe fey aryȝt,  
 Oper, be pilke lord : þt made day & nyȝt,  
 945 3if þu in þis desputasioun : now ouer come be,  
 I wole al myn ancy : my self wreke on þe,  
 I wole draw out w<sup>t</sup> myn hond : þin herte & þy tonge  
 & prowes hem to hound<sup>9</sup>, bope olde & ȝonge ;  
 Oper scholle euere her after : be war be þe  
 950 To be gyle any man, : as þu be gylist me ;  
 & 3if þu in þe lawe : haue þe maystryȝe,  
 I wole euer more : loue þy companyȝe.  
 Nacor of pese word<sup>9</sup> : gan þo to be a gast,  
 & þouȝt, hym was beter, : to be stedfast  
 955 & be leue wit þe child : & leue in goodnesse,  
 þan suffre ben ouer come : & deyȝe in schennesse.  
 perfore in his herte : he gan to syke sore,  
 & wel sore apouȝt : þt he be gan þis lore.  
 Vp ros a gret clerk, : þat wit þe king was þo :  
 960 Artow pilke barlam : þt hast wrouȝt þis wo ?  
 þe king<sup>9</sup> sone, þt here is, : þu hast brouȝt in folȝe  
 þat he forsakiþ oure god<sup>9</sup>, & þat is velanyȝe.  
 Wel I woot, quap nacor, : þt I am barlam :  
 ffor folȝ in to truþe : þe king<sup>9</sup> sone I wan,  
 965 ffor wel I wot to sope : þat folȝ is it non  
 To honoure ihesu crist : & forsake þe dede ston.  
 How is þt ? quap þe clerk, : I here a wondir þing :  
 Houre god<sup>9</sup> honouriþ : erl, baroun, & king,  
 þu spekiȝt of anewe god : & of anewe lawe ;  
 970 þer fore haþ mony mon : be brouȝt of dawe ;  
 How is it þt þu darst : oure god<sup>9</sup> do deshounour ?  
 Artow beter þan any erl, : king, or emperour ?  
 Quap nacor : I wis, þu most lern : to preche þy gyge,  
 ffor þis ilke resoun : nys nouȝt worþ aȝyge ;  
 975 Some men honouriþ god<sup>9</sup> : þt beþ wit hond<sup>9</sup> wrouȝt  
 Of ston, tre, gold, & seluer, : here be leue is nouȝt ;  
 Dede men in some contre : me clepiþ god<sup>9</sup> al so,  
 As iubyter & plato, : þt is mys I do ;  
 & I be leue on ihesu crist, : þt is ful of myȝt,  
 980 þat wold fro heuin for vs in to erþe alyȝt ;  
 & of amayde he was bore, : þo he hidir com ;  
 Of seint ihon, þe baptist, : he fong cristindom ;

- Of þe blis of heuin moche he gan preche,  
 & þt he was soþfast god : wt fayre meraklis teche ;  
 985 At þe last men hym nome : & dede hym on þe rode.  
 Gilt, I woot, had he non, : it was for oure gode.  
 þ9 prechid nacor al day : of þe fey wel ryzt,  
 þat þer nas no saraȝyn : þat hym answeye myzt.  
 ffor þis predycacyoun was : Josaphat glad þo,  
 990 þat cristindom was prechid : þorw3 ihesu crist9 fo.  
 þe king was for þis dede : in herte ful wo,  
 & had þt þe company : departid were in two,  
 To fond a ȝen on morw3 : to be þenche more,  
 To torn þis child9 þouzt ; þorw3 nacor Is lore.  
 995 þo seyde iosephat : : my mayster þu most me take,  
 þat we mowe to gedere : of þis þing speche make ;  
 & tak wit þe þy conseyl, : as þu auztist to do,  
 Some conseyl ȝe mowe make, : ȝif þe sentip þer to ;  
 But þu graunte þis, : þu worchist nouzt þe ryzt ;  
 1000 Wel þu myzt vs dele a two : þorw3 þy grete myzt.  
 Now3 þe king grantip : þt nacor wit hym go,  
 & nauzt but for he hopip : his beleue he schal vn do ;  
 þe king þan grantyp : þat þey go her in fere,  
 & come on morw to þe court, : for he hem wold here.  
 1005 So þey went to gydere. : Josaphat to hym seyde ;  
 I woot þu art nauzt barlam, : as my fadir seyde,  
 Nacor is þy ryzte name ; : drede is in þe steke,  
 þat þu no darst for al þe world : a word aȝen me speke ;  
 þow3 þu haue al day : prechid cristindom,  
 1010 I woot wel, of þy good wil : no þing it ne com ;  
 But ȝif þu wolt, nacor, : do by my lyste  
 & lete þy false god9 : & leue on ihesu criste,  
 þou myzt sauē þy solf, : & þy soule al so ;  
 I wot þu schalt deȝe, : but þu it wolt do ;  
 1015 For I woot þu schalt : nouzt ascape fro me  
 In no maner wyse, : but it þy wille be  
 þt þu leue on ihesu crist, : & do after my lore,  
 & be trewe cristin man : here after euer more.  
 Apreue prest he hadde, : þt to hym gan gon  
 1020 & þorw here beyre reed : cristenyd nacor anon.  
 Nucor forþ went, : þo he had moche of age,  
 In to þe desert of samar, : & tok an ermytage.  
 þo þe king herde þis, : sykir hym was ful wo.  
 A, mahound, he seyde, : lord, what schal I do ?  
 1025 My sone me haȝ smyte : wit acarful wounde,  
 & noman me helpe can : þt I were þer of vn bounde.  
 Theodas, a gret lord, : herd telle of þis cas ;

- Abeter clerk in þat lond be þt tyme ne was.  
 Syre, he seyde to þe king, : þo he to hym com,  
 1030 I can make þy sone : leue his cristin dom ;  
 ȝif I make, to ȝoure god⁹ : þt he torne aȝe,  
 Sey me wit good wil : what þu wolt ȝeue me.  
 ȝif þu wolt do þt , quap þe king, : I wole lete make an image,  
 To whom men scholle aloute : of alle maner age,  
 1035 & I my selue wille make : to þe offringe þere,  
 In alle manere wyse, : as þu a god were.  
 Wel þan, quap toodas, : þu most þy sone bring  
 After my red : in to an oper wonyng ;  
 þe fayresse women of þe lond : to hym þt þey brouȝt be,  
 1040 So þt he haue no þing : but hem on to se ;  
 A sprit I wole hym sende, : þt hym schal tempte so,  
 þat he ne schal haue no pouȝt : but lechery to do ;  
 þer is nomon on lyue : þat so tornyþ monn⁹ pouȝt,  
 As wyme, whan aman : among hem is I brouȝt.  
 1045 ffor a kyng was a tyme, : þt a sone hadde,  
 & lest he lore his son⁹ lyf, : sore he hym dradde.  
 Lechis he of sente, : þat scholde hym consayle.  
 & þey to hym seyde, : sykir wt oute fayle,  
 þat, ȝif his sone seyȝe : sonne oper mone,  
 1050 þe lyȝt of his yȝen : he scholde lese sone.  
 þe king in an erpe hous : let his sone do.  
 So þt he ne say sonne ne mone : neuer mo  
 Ten ȝer oper more, : so þt he knew no þing,  
 Name of man ne best, : & seȝpe þorwȝ þe king  
 1055 He was fro þe stede brouȝt : : me let hym þing⁹ se,  
 For he schold to sope wite : what ech þing scholde be.  
 Women me brouȝt afore hym ; : he askid what þey were.  
 Me seyde : it were deuelis : þt he say þo þere,  
 þat gyliþ mann⁹ soule⁹ : & bringeþ hem in wo,  
 1060 For moche in þis world : þey haue harm I do.  
 þe king clepid his sone : & seyde to hym þ⁹ :  
 Woch þing louistow mest : of þat þu sey er þis ?  
 þe child seyde : þilke deuelis : þt I say er whyle,  
 þt wole mann⁹ soule : wt here myȝt be gyle,  
 1065 For at þe ferste tyme : þt I hem syȝ,  
 Me pouȝt of wit I was : for lore wel nyȝ.  
 By þat I woot to sope : þt he (ne) worȝ ouer come,  
 But his pouȝt þorwȝ women : mowe hym be by nome.  
 As þis clerk hæȝ seyde, : al me hæȝ I do ;  
 1070 þe fayreste women of þe lond : hem me brouȝt hym twe.  
 þe spirit, þt was hym sent, : brende wt inne hym fast,  
 þe women hym tempte so wit oute, : þt he was soȝe a gast.

- Oft he be souzt god, : help hym for to sende ;  
 Ho fond þat his flesschis lost : þer wit a wey wende.
- 1075 A ryche king<sup>9</sup> douzter : his fadir hym gan sende,  
 Saue þ<sup>t</sup> zhe was fadirles, : his pouzt for to wende.  
 þis child here prechid of crist : & of heuin blis,  
 & zhe hym answerid : & seyde anon I wis :  
 þou ne schalt neuer mo : to þy laue tórne me,
- 1080 But þ<sup>u</sup> & I to gedere : rap<sup>r</sup> spousid be ;  
 ffor spoushod is grauntid, : cristin men witip þis :  
 Patryark<sup>9</sup> & prophetis : spousid were I wis,  
 & seynt peter, þ<sup>e</sup> apostil, : spousid was al so.  
 þe zonge mon answerde : & þ<sup>9</sup> seyde here two :
- 1085 Of al þing þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> seyst : þ<sup>u</sup> seyst soþ to me,  
 But of hem þ<sup>t</sup> han auouid : to hold vergynyte :  
 pilke ne mowe in no wyse : to womon spousid be,  
 For holywrit it for bit, : sykir, I segge þe.  
 For al þ<sup>t</sup> quap þis woman, : zif þ<sup>u</sup> wolt þat I sauid be,
- 1090 þou most on<sup>9</sup> haue : fleschlich to don w<sup>t</sup> me,  
 For, zif þ<sup>u</sup> haue wit me to done, : to morw crlycho  
 I wole aþong cristindom, : I segge trewliche ;  
 For of þing þat is write : in oure lawe soþ is :  
 For o sinful man : heuen is in more blis,
- 1095 Whan he tornyp to good : & lat his sinne be  
 & vndirfongip penaunce : & lyueþ in charyte,  
 þan for an hondrid holy men, : þat nede naueþ non  
 For non of here synn<sup>9</sup> : penaunce to don.  
 Moche myztou to heuin : of ioy & blys bring,
- 1100 zif þ<sup>u</sup> myzt torne þe synful : w<sup>t</sup> so lyt aping.  
 Moche wondir þis mon : had of þis wenche,  
 & here for to helpe : zerne he gan hym þenche.  
 þe sprit, þ<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> inne hym was, : zerne hym atende ;  
 þo he pouzt þis þing do, : so þis wenche hym blende.
- 1105 Glad was þis mayde, : þ<sup>o</sup> zhe þis syz.  
 To hero felauis zhe seyde : : we haue hym wel nyz ;  
 Go we aboute hym quikliche, : I woot we mowe spede,  
 ffor I haue wel ny : I do alle oure nedo.  
 To þis zong mon : þey wente alle quikliche.
- 1110 þo he seyð here fayrnesse, : sore ho gan to syche,  
 ffor he nyste on lyue : how here to helpe þo ;  
 Lop hym were his maydinhooð : scholde be vndo.  
 In to an herne preuiliche : he went hym þer fore,  
 & bad help of ihesu crist, : & gan to wepe sore.
- 1115 So he wrong his hond<sup>9</sup> : & his pouzt to heuin cast,  
 þ<sup>t</sup> amydde his sorwe : he fil on slepe fast.  
 Amon, hym pouzte as he slep, : þenne hym gan ledo

- Wit flour<sup>9</sup> & w<sup>t</sup> gras : to a wel fayr mede ;  
 Tres þer were many : þ<sup>t</sup> nobil frut here ;
- 1120 Noman may telle þe ioy : þat he fond þere ;  
 Swyþe sote was þe smel : þe eyr was ful gode,  
 Rychere frut þan he say : ne myzte be, he ondur stode.  
 Segis þer were set : þat were swyþe ryche,  
 Hym pouzt in al þe world : nas non hem lyche ;
- 1125 Welle strem<sup>9</sup> þer among : þ<sup>t</sup> ronno wel stille ;  
 Bedd<sup>9</sup>, þat were ryche : to restin on at wille.  
 Seþþe he lad hym forþ : as in to a toun ;  
 Of swyþe mery song<sup>9</sup> : þer he herde þe soun ;  
 Alle þe wall<sup>9</sup> were of gold : & of ryche stone ;
- 1130 Hym pouzt in al þe world : soche toun nas þer none.  
 To hym he seyde : þis sted : þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> myzt here se,  
 þis is þe stede þat þey scholle in wone : þ<sup>t</sup> scholle sauð he.  
 þo me wold hym þenne lede : Josaphat seyde : pur charyte,  
 Lede me nouzt henn<sup>9</sup> : but let me here be !
- 1135 Do wey, quap þis oþer : þ<sup>u</sup> ne hast nouzt so wrouzt  
 þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> mowe dwelle her : þerfore þou spekest for nouzt ;  
 ȝif þ<sup>u</sup> mowe þy selue chast : I sogge þe at þe frome,  
 ffor sinne & fro velenyze : hedir þou schalt come ;  
 Moche is þe penaunce : þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> most þole er,
- 1140 & so doþ alle oþer : þ<sup>t</sup> wilueþ to wone her.  
 Seþþe he nom iosaphat : & forþ hym laddo  
 To aswyþe derk stede : þer of he hym dradde ;  
 Al þe sorw<sup>3</sup> & þe wo : þ<sup>t</sup> man of telle may,  
 In þat grisliche stede : hym pouzt þat he say.
- 1145 þan seyde þe man : þat was w<sup>t</sup> hym þo :  
 Sestou þis stede : þat is so ful of wo ?  
 I þe seyze for soþe : her inne þey schulle be pult  
 þat han vpon erþe : wit sinne god agylt ;  
 þerfore þ<sup>u</sup> myzt chese : here after, leue broþer,
- 1150 Wheyþer þe is loueþ þis stede : or ellis þ<sup>t</sup> oþer ;  
 ffor, ȝif þ<sup>u</sup> lyuist in sinne : þ<sup>u</sup> schalt winne þis,  
 & ȝif þ<sup>u</sup> lyuist in clene lyf : þ<sup>t</sup> oþer þ<sup>u</sup> getist I wis.  
 After þis ilke word : iosaphat gan a wake.  
 þe fool ſemblaunt of þe women : clene he gan for sake.
- 1155 þese wome cam aboute hym : & gonno hym clippe faste ;  
 Here hond<sup>9</sup> he sore handlid : & gan hem fro hym caste.  
 He be took hym to ihesu crist : & blessid hym wel swyþe.  
 þo þe women þis syz : iwis þey were vnþyþe.  
 þe wikkede gost<sup>9</sup> : þ<sup>t</sup> to hym were I sent
- 1160 þorw<sup>3</sup> teodas nygremauncy : to don hym turment,  
 þo iosaphat hym hadde blessid : þey held hem schent echon.  
 & to teodas, here mayster : a zen þey bep a gon.

- Teodas hem askid, : what þey hadde don.  
 & þey hym answerid : & seyde þus anon :
- 1165 Er he hym gan blesse, : we hadde ny þe maystryze ;  
 Wt þe cros he vs ouer com, : wher to scholde I lyze ?  
 We seggeþ þe for soþe, : we ne mowe þe nouzt do ;  
 ffonde þ<sup>u</sup>, 3if þ<sup>u</sup> myzt, : whan þ<sup>u</sup> wolt to hym go.  
 To Josaphat wente þo : þe king and teodas.
- 1170 Josaphat preched so, : þ<sup>t</sup> teodas cristned was,  
 & good lyf gan lede : & his folysis for sook.  
 þ<sup>9</sup> he was take wt þe fysch, : þ<sup>t</sup> he pouzt take wt crok.  
 þorw<sup>3</sup> conseyl of his frend<sup>9</sup> : þe king gan do wel,  
 & 3af Josaphat his sone : þe kingdom haluendel.
- 1175 Sumdel a 3en his wille : þe lond<sup>9</sup> he took :  
 þo he hem fong bodyliche, : wit soule it for sook ;  
 He took hem, for he wolde : echin godd<sup>9</sup> lawe,  
 & alle þe false god<sup>9</sup> : out of his lond drawe.  
 ffayre emagis of þe cros : in ech toun he leet verche,
- 1180 & ordeynyd bysschop<sup>9</sup> & prest<sup>9</sup>, : to singe in holy cherche.  
 þe meste party of þe lond : to crist he hap brouzt.  
 & euere he fondid day & nyzt : to torne his fadir pouzt.  
 So at þe ende, : as god 3af þe cas,  
 þe king tornyd to god : & cristenyd was.
- 1185 Now hap iosaphat : moche to his wille ;  
 þer of he þonkid god : boþe loud & stille.  
 þe king 3ald vp þo : al þe kingdom  
 In to his son<sup>9</sup> hond, : & he it nom.  
 þis olde king sone after : drouz to his ende,
- 1190 & þorw<sup>3</sup> godd<sup>9</sup> grace : his soule to heuin wende.  
 Josaphat þorw<sup>3</sup> godd<sup>9</sup> myzt : þe folk to heuin gan wyse,  
 & bad hem do here wel : to godd<sup>9</sup> seruise.  
 To barachyze, an oper king, : þ<sup>t</sup> good mon was & fre,  
 þ<sup>t</sup> þorw<sup>3</sup> destene of erytage : his eyr scholde be,
- 1195 Hym he sente to segge : preuilich in consayle,  
 How he wold to wildirnesse : wende wt oute fayle,  
 & þat he was in wille : al þis world for sake :  
 & bad hym to þe kingdom : good kep take,  
 & tech wel cristin dom, : as he hadde er do.
- 1200 But of þis be stille he bad, : fort he were ago.  
 Ofte he pouzt ascape, : but long it was for nouzt,  
 For ener of his oune men : a3en he was I cauzt.  
 At þe last he scapid, : & went forþ his way,  
 þ<sup>t</sup> in to þe wildirnes : of samar ryzt lay.
- 1205 As he wente in his way, : apore man he mette,  
 & wt fayr apeche : anon he hym grette,  
 & seyde : leue broþer, : for loue now I bidde þe

- pat þu þy clop⁹ to day : chaunge wit me ;  
 þou myne be þe beter, : I hem þe wille ȝeue ;  
 1210 þu myzt hem dere selle, : & longe þe beter lyue.  
 þe pore mon took þe king : his clop⁹ anon I wis,  
 & wente forþ in his way : myldeliche syp.  
 þe fend brouȝte Josaphat : anon in gret doute,  
 In þe desert of samar : þo he went aboute :  
 1215 Ofte in fourme of man : grislich he hym mette,  
 & w<sup>t</sup> swerd I drawe : of his wey hym lette,  
 & swor grete op⁹ : pat he hym wolde sle,  
 But he to his kingdom : tornyd hom a ȝe.  
 In fourme of a wilde best : he hym turnyd al so,  
 1220 Al redy w<sup>t</sup> his myzt : to don hym alle wo.  
 He hym blessid al wey, : whan hym by fel so,  
 & þer wit euer more : he ouer com his fo.  
 Ofte Josaphat scyd : : whyl þt god helpiþ me,  
 I ne drede nomon ne best, : what euer he be.  
 1225 Twey ȝer in desert : Josaphat wente so,  
 Er he fond barlam, : þt he was wery of go.  
 þo he com to þe cauc : pat he in was,  
 Josaphat seyde for ioyȝe : : deo gracyas.  
 Wit oute þe dore he stood, : & loude gan to criȝe :  
 1230 Blesse me, fadir, blesse me, : for þy cortesyȝe !  
 þo barlam herde pis, : out he gan gon,  
 & w<sup>t</sup> moche blisse : kissid hym anon.  
 ȝosaphat told barlam : howȝ he hadde fare,  
 & hou he hadde at hom : lyuid in sorwȝ & care.  
 1235 þere he lyuid w<sup>t</sup> barlam : ȝer⁹ many & fule,  
 In fasting & in orysonys, : In hete & in cale.  
 Barlam deyde scþpe, : I woot wel I wis,  
 þre hondrid ȝer & eyȝty, : after god was bore for vs.  
 & fyue & twenty ȝer Josaphat : was in his king dom,  
 1240 & fyue & pritty ȝer In desert, : after he þer to com.  
 After, þo he deyde, : his holy body me nom  
 & beryid it be his mayster, : þe gode barlam.  
 þo barachyȝe, þe gode king, : her of herde telle,  
 Wit his companyȝe þedir : he wente wel snelle ;  
 1245 Boþe bodyis he nom vp, : w<sup>t</sup> ioy & wit blis,  
 & brouȝt hem to toun, : as ryȝt was I wis.  
 He beryed hem rychely : in þorw mad of ston.  
 þer god hap for here loue : many merakle don.  
 Nowȝ bidde we god of heuin, : pat euer was & is,  
 1250 pat he vs for here boþe loue : bring to heuin blis. amen.
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## NOTE ON THE LITERATURE OF BARLAAM AND JOASAPH.

This, "the first religious romance published in a Western language," was written in Greek, most probably by the pen of John of Damascus, in the eighth century of the Christian era, though critics are not wanting who put it as early as the 4th or 5th century. In that latter case the authorship would be altogether unknown. Its name is founded, it is believed, partly on the Biblical name of Balaam, who was sent for by Balak, king of Moab, to curse the Israelites, but instead of cursing blessed them (Numbers xxii. 1-41); and partly on the word *Bodisat*, the name or title by which Gautama Buddha is frequently known in Buddhistic writings. The Christian author of the story got his Buddhistic materials most likely through the Arabic: and *Bodisat* in Arabic is *Pūdasatf*, and this to a Greek Christian, well versed in his Old Testament, would readily change into Joasaph, and that into Josaphat. The Buddhistic origin of the story was not detected during all the centuries that passed from its first publication down to the latter half of the nineteenth century, when Laboulaye published his discovery of it in the *Debats*, in July 1859. Liebrecht made the matter still clearer in the 'Jahrbuch für romanische und Englis'he Literatur,' in 1860. Littré, in 1865, in the *Journal des Savans*, discusses the authorship at some length, and decides in favour of John of Damascus. Professor Max Müller, in his article in *The Contemporary Review* of July 1870, moralizes, with the story of Barlaam and Jchosaphat as his text, on the manner in which Myths travel all over the world. This is seen not only in the journeyings of the story, as a whole, over the civilized world, but also in the excursions of the several incidents or apologues of it. Translations in prose and poetry, and plays founded on these, abounded, as we shall see, in many languages. The episodes or stories embodied in it "became very popular during the middle ages, and were used as the subjects of numerous sermons, story-books, romances, poems, and edifying dramas. Thus extensively adapted and circulated, they had a considerable influence on the revival of literature, which, hand in hand with the revival of learning, did so much to render possible and to bring about the Great Reformation." (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. i., p. xlix.)

The story of the chests, or *fates* (*vats*), is believed to be the source whence Gower got the similar story in the *Confessio Amantis*; Boccaccio, that in the *Decameron*; and Shakspeare, his story of the caskets in the *Merchant of Venice*.

The story of the king's son brought up in darkness is also in the *Decameron*; and the story of the king's brother threatened with death, is, with variations, in the *Gesta Romanorum* (a book whose title has given us the English word *jest*); and in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

Other literature, originating in India, circulated in Europe about the same time. The *Pancha Tantra* is well known in India, but it is not so well known that its earliest form no longer exists. But a book which must have been very like it formed part of a work translated into Pahlavi (Old Persian) in the 6th century, and thence, about 750 A. D., into Syriac, called *Kalilag* and *Damnag*, and into Arabic, under the title of *Kalilah and Dimnah*, being corruptions of the Indian names of two *jackals*—*Karatak* and *Damanak*. The Arabs, it is believed, took the stories to Europe. An English translation, entitled *Kalila and Dimna*, was published by Knatchbull, Oxford, 1819; and another English version, by Arthur N. Wallaston, London (Allen). "*Sinbad the Sailor*," or "*Book of the Seven Wise Masters*," was worked out of the same quarry; and so also, it is said, were "*Æsop's Fables*." These latter are traceable to the collection made by Planudes, a monk of Constantinople, in the first half of the 14th century (say 1340), printed at Milan at the end of the 15th century. Additions were made to these in 1610 and 1810. Several of Planudes' fables are found in Babrius, a Greek poet, who lived some time in the first century before Christ. His work was edited by Sir G. C. Lewis in 1846. Planudes may have also seen Phædrus' fables, though they existed only in very rare MSS. down to the end of the 16th century. But versions of some of those stories which now go under the name of the Buddhist *Birth Stories*, were in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Spanish, before Planudes' time; and many of his stories have been traced to them. Babrius and Phædrus got some of theirs from the same source, or from the common folk-lore of all nations. None of Æsop's Fables are, it is now believed, actually Æsop's own. He was simply a collector. All, or almost all, are believed to have come from India on their way westward. In this connection, Mr. Gilchrist's (J) *Oriental Fabulist*, in which we have Æsop in English, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic, Bhakka, Bangla, Sanscrit, &c., published in Roman characters in Calcutta in 1803, is of no small interest. The only copy I have seen of it was in the British Museum.

Returning to our story of Barlaam, of whose Greek original I have spoken, the Latin translation which must have been made very early, claims our attention. It is printed along with the Greek original in Migne's stupendous work, the "*Patrologia cursus completus, Series Graeca*" (vol. xcvi. pp. 836–1250), of which Matthew Arnold writes so eloquently

in one of his *Essays on Criticism*, first series. There are various other Latin editions in MS and in print.

2. *Syriac version* of the Greek in MS.

3. *Arabic version* of the Syriac in MS., of the eleventh century.

4. *Various Latin versions*, including twelfth-century MSS. Some of the Latin versions are abbreviated. From them, rather than from the Greek, the later mediæval works are derived.

5. *German*: Various versions in prose and poetry, in print and MS. are extant in German.

6. *Dutch*: A long and tedious prose version, printed in 1539 and reprinted in 1672.

7. *French*: In this language it has appeared in at least eight different forms, prose and poetry, and drama, from 1200 to 1460, not counting modern editions.

8. *Italian*: As might be expected, there are various versions of the story in Italian, published, as true lives of S. *S. Barlaam e Giosafatte*, *La Santissima vita de Santo Josafat*, *Vita da Santo Josaphat* and *Vita di san Giosafat convertito da Barlaam*, dating from 1600 to 1852.

9. *Scandinavian*: Various versions, of which C. R. Unger gives an account in his volume, *Barlaam's ok Josaphat's Saga*, Christiania, 1851.

10. *Spanish*: A literal translation of the Latin in Migne's, in the Spanish *dialect used* in the Philippine Islands at Manilla, 1692.

11. *English*: In addition to the five different versions reproduced in this volume, there is a Middle English version, published in Horstmann's 'Program of the Sagan Gymnasium.' Tale 168 of 'The *Gesta Romanorum*,' quotes Barlaam. Of this work an English translation is in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 1877, and in the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society, vol. 33, by S. J. H. Herrtage. See also Warton's History of English Poetry, and more especially Prof. Rhys Davids' translation of *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. i., to whose valuable Introduction I am greatly indebted.

M. Zotenberg commences his learned "Notice sur le Livre de Barlaam et Joasaph" (Paris. 1886) with the words:—"The book *Barlaam and Joasaph* occupies a great place in literary history. It has enjoyed in the Middle Ages in the East as in the West a universal celebrity. Its high æsthetic value, in whatever setting in which it may have been clothed, in the course of the centuries and among the different races, is always so generally recognised, that it may appear opportune to submit [it] to a new examination."

K S. M.

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THE VERNON MS. TEXT.

The Vernon MS. is named after Edward Vernon. There is an entry upon the inside of the cover, in Latin,—“Presented to the Bodleian Library [Oxford] by Edward Vernon, Knight, formerly of Trinity College in this University, and holding the superior social rank there—in the late civil war he fought strenuously on the royalist side, in the capacity of Colonel.”

“It is a strikingly beautiful MS. of 412 pages, on fine parchment, with fine initial letters, gold in green or bright-red setting, and here and there, illuminated pictures to illustrate the text.”—*From the Introduction to Old English Legends.* Edited by Horstmann, 1875.

DATE OF THE MS.—According to J. O. Halliwell, who published a description of the Vernon MS. in 1848, it was written between the years 1370 and 1380, *i.e.*, while Chaucer, Gower, Langland, and Wycliffe, were all alive and in the midst of authorship. The text of the MS. is therefore almost certainly of earlier date, for the functions of author and illuminating scribe were quite distinct. From the religious and instructive character of the contents, the whole MS. was entitled “Sowle hele,” *i.e.*, “Soul’s Health,” or in modern language, “Salvation,” and it is noteworthy as containing the original, or A. text, of “Piers’ Plowman.”

DATE OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT.—That the language of the Vernon Text is much older than the above date, is rendered still more probable by the great number of still earlier MSS. of the story in the British Museum. Five are described as being of the 13th century, and one of the 12th century, though all of them are not in English. Even, therefore, after allowing for some alteration by the scribe, so as to bring the language nearer that of his own day, the language of the Vernon MS. is almost certainly earlier than the date of transcription. Were it a question simply between the language of Chaucer and the language of the Vernon MS.—which is nearer A. S., and which is nearer modern English, there would be no difficulty in saying that the Vernon Text is at once nearer A. S. and farther from modern English than Chaucer, or than Wycliffe. But the question of date of the language of the Text is more complicated than that. The language of London, that is of Chaucer, was probably farther advanced towards modern English than the language

of the provinces, hence a more antiquated grammar and vocabulary in a provincial MS. does not necessarily mean an older date. The question is still further complicated by the fact that every district of England had its own dialect and its own degree of admixture of Danish and French elements, largely depending on geographical considerations.

Taking all things into consideration, *e.g.*, the levelling of gutturals, especially *h*, the grammatical usages, and the character of other works of known date, the details being given in the notes, the date of the Vernon Text seems to fall somewhere at the beginning of the fourteenth century, say, from 1300 to 1325, A. D. And its author's country must have been somewhere west and south of London, certainly south of the Danegeld, and yet not into the extreme south-western country of Dorset and Somerset, which have a very distinct dialect of their own.

VALUE OF THIS TEXT TO THE STUDENT.—The student being supposed to have a fair acquaintance with two points in the history of Old and Middle English, *viz.*, with A. S. and with the language of Chaucer, may now with profit take up some work belonging to the interval. Only of course after his knowledge of the two points above-mentioned is definite and fairly extensive, should this new study be undertaken. That being presumed, few works can be more profitably taken up by the student of Old and Middle English than this legend, owing to the variety of versions of it, of different dates, which are extant.

VERSIFICATION.—The *versification* is comparatively simple, however irregular it may at first sight appear. It is a rudimentary stage of the measure of modern metrical romances and ballads, *viz.*, Iambic tetrameter couplets, the most familiar examples of which are Sir Walter Scott's poems. The ordinary line in 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' contains four Iambic accents, and the rhyme is in couplets.

The points to be noted are:—(a) As in the most ancient MSS. of Chaucer, the *cæsura* is carefully noted by a dot after it, in every line where there is a distinct *cæsura*. This was specially required in poetry that would probably be read in public. We recall the special precautions for right reading in the "Ormulum." Usually the *cæsura* occurs after the second accent, but sometimes it occurs after the first accent, and sometimes after the third.

Sometimes the *cæsura* is merely a natural break, or pause, after an accented syllable, as in—

l. 83. "And asked hém. swithe fašte with álle,

Sometimes it is an extra syllable—

ll. 269, 270. "And múche disiret. of thís to lóre,  
But tó his fádur. he máde good chére."

Sometimes it is a natural sense-pause after the unaccented syllable, especially when the unaccented syllable forms the last syllable of a word of more than one syllable. It is then like the *cæsura* of modern poetry, which serves as the hinge to unite the two halves of the line,—*e.g.*

l. 433. "And yif thou képe hem. with thi wit."

l. 372. "And drédful Júgement. séo with ei3o."

l. 4. "Of Bárlaam. ánd kyng Jośafáph."

Sometimes more than one *cæsura* is marked, *e.g.*, *ll.* 82, 88. See remarks on the *Punctuation* of the Vernon MS. Text.

(b). The type of each foot is the iambus, but it is quite common to begin a line with a foot of only a single *accented* syllable. It is also common, though less so, to begin the second half of the line, after the *cæsura*, in like manner, with a foot of only a single *accented* syllable,

*e.g.*, l. 48. E'quité. and éke prudenée.

l. 31. Thou art' his scorn'. and' his pley'.

l. 388. The ky'ng to hém. seide thén.

l. 428. Tháuh that thouí. slé nou mé.

These accents on the first syllables of the line, or second half-line, are probably due to the influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry, where such initial accents often occur. It is also not uncommon to have two or even three unaccented syllables preceding the accented one, *e.g.*,

l. 55. He that nath' not tásted. with mékenése.

l. 488. Thei that disíren. bodilich' delyées hээр.

l. 491. To a mon' i séye. with ouíten scorn'.

The versification may be said generally to echo the regular Iambic lines of French poetry, and yet to show largely the influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry, which is marked only by accents.

Exactly similar lax (Iambic) tetrameters, rhyming in couplets, are seen in the "Old English Homilies," of date about 1160 A. D., published by the Early English Text Society. The measure has all along been a favourite one in English Literature. The "Ormulum," of date about A. D. 1216, is in perfect Iambic tetrameters, though unrhymed, and the Early English version of the French "Romance of King Alexander" [before 1300 A.D.] is composed in lax Iambic tetrameters similar to the Vernon Text.

The accent of the following words should be noted to secure rhythmic reading—Bárlaam, Jósaphath, onswére [noun], onswered, &c., profyt' prophýteth, &c., paleís, désért, purpóse, máner or manээр (manner), vertúwe, custúun, savour, ydóles (idols), credénce, prophétes, penaúnce, envýe, mirácle.

PRONUNCIATION—The sounds of the various simple letters in Chaucer

being still practically the same as in Anglo-Saxon, we may presume that this poem, which belongs to some intermediate date, is to be similarly pronounced. The following abstract of the results of Ellis's "Early English Pronunciation," which is given by Skeat [Introduction to Chaucer, "Man of Lawe's Tale," &c.,] as the authoritative guide to the pronunciation of Chaucer, serves us here also.

The primary vowels are      i      e      a      o      u.  
Sounded      ee      eh      ah      oa, as in boar      oo.

U initial is written v, and v other than initial or capital is written u. Thus vuel [532]=uvel=cvil. The more correct statement is of course that u sound and v sound, while already distinguished in sound, were not yet distinguished in writing, and were not until the 17th century.

U in French words, also probably in many A. S. words, specially where it was long, had the French sound which Ellis represents by yy [See y below]. This is no doubt the sound of u in the final syllables of *clothud*, *wondur*, *Godus*, in *luttul* [505, cf. *luytel* &c., 525, &c.], also of course in *vertuwe*, &c. This French u sound no doubt led A. S. u sound, especially long u, to be more definitely written as ou. See ou below. This French u was the origin of the modern English yu sound of u.

The combinations of vowels are pronounced as if both the components were sounded in rapid succession, thus :—

Ee, aa, oo, are simply e, a, o, prolonged in pronouncing them.

Ie=i+e [ee-eh].

Ei=e+i[eh-ee]. Practically, it is ē, or modern ay. Ellis is of opinion that ei was sounded a-i [ah-ee] like modern igh.

Eo=e [eh] practically.

Eu=e+u [oh-oo]. In French words it was probably sounded yy. See y below.

Ai=a+i [ah-ee]. It approached to ei [eh-ee] rather than to the modern igh.

Au=a+u [ah-oo].

Oi=o+i [oa-ee].

Ou=u [oo] more fully sounded than when written u. It often stands for A. S. long u, e. g. A. S. hu, Mid. Eng. hou, Mod. Eng. hōw.

Sometimes ou has an o-u [oa-oo] sound, when the original vowel in Saxon, has been o, or a, or ea, e. g., brouht, nouzt, thouh—in which cases the modern English words have a sound nearer to o than to u. Compare *how* with *brought*, *nought*, *though*.

ui=u+i [oo-ee], the ultimate resultant sound closely resembling y. See y below. ui, in this Vernon Text occupies the place of y in the Saxon words. e. g., Vernon, fair=A. S. fyr.

y = i [ee] nearly, but with an admixture of u [oo], cf. *ui* above. In *and engyn* rhyme in *ll.* 187-8. Note also 283-4, 565-6, &c.

ye = ie [ee-eh] nearly. See *y* above. It is always final. This is a distinct vowel from *y* with which according to Ellis [*ii.* p. 283] it never rhymes in poems of the 14th century.

y, after another vowel, stands for *i*, probably somewhat obscured in sound, owing to the composition.

Thus *ey* = *ei*. *Heire* and *repeyre* rhyme in *ll.* 185-6.

*ay* = *ai*.

*oy* = *oi* [oa-ee].

*uy* = *ui*, that is = *y* nearly, that is = *i* [ee] nearly. *Luyte* and *prophite* rhyme in *ll.* 131-2.

In the Vernon MS. every *w* is to be pronounced as a consonant, as in A. S., e. g., *thorwh*, *l.* 15, is a monosyllable. It stands either for A. S. *w*, or for a decaying guttural, e. g., *serepful*, *l.* 69 [sorrowful] = A. S. *sorgful*; *thorwh*, *l.* 15 [through] = A. S. *thurh*.

Every *y* is to be pronounced as a vowel, as in A. S. and Norman-French.

Final *e* is pronounced or is silent, for metrical reasons. Grammatical reasons fix the usage in certain cases. 1. The weak adjective of A. S. grammar, for example, still shews itself in the final *e* of the adjective being pronounced almost always after the definite article, and generally also after possessive pronouns, e. g., compare *ll.* 127 and 137.

127. He saúh a póre mon. Gód hit wót.

137. The pór-e seide. I ám a Léche.

Also 9. A. kýng ther rós. with' gret ýr.

15. That was the kýnges. grét-e frénde.  
cf. *ll.* 201, 398.

2. *Heore*, = A. S. gen. pl. *hiera*, has always the final *e* sounded. Occasionally it seems purposely written *heor*, where the metre does not allow *heore* to have its full sound, e. g., in *l.* 334.

3. The *e* final of the infinitive is never sounded.

4. Final *e* is elided before a vowel or *h*. Nevertheless the intervention of the *cæ*sura prevents the elision.

5. If the final *e* be part of the body of the word, it is of course to be sounded, e. g., in *Equite*, *poverte*, *parde*, for Lat. *aequitat-is*, &c.

CONSONANTS.—

*c*. Is divided between *s* and *k* sound, as in modern English. Note that *ci*. e. g. in *Incarnacion* is not sounded *sh*.

*ch*. This grew out of A. S. *c* [k] in most cases, e. g., *seche* = A. S. *secan*, to seek; *whuche* = A. S. *hwilec*, which; *childe* = A. S. *cild*;



**michel**=A. S. *micel*, much. The difficulty is to know what stage of the transition is represented by the Vernon MS. pronunciation. Was *ch* sounded gutturally, as it is still in Scotch [Anglian] *e. g.*, *loch*, or sibilant, in French fashion, *e. g.*, *champagne*, from Lat *campagna*, or dento-sibilant, as in modern English *church* [tshurtsh], from A. S. *cirice* [Scot. *kirk*]? In one Greek word, Barachye, *l.* 744, *ch* is no doubt guttural, and it is also difficult to believe that *ch* in words like *verreylich*, *l.* 569, could be pronounced *sh* or *tsh*, or otherwise than gutturally since they have alternative forms, like *verreylye*, *l.* 307, and *verreyli*, *l.* 198, as if to mark the alternative and kindred non-guttural sound. [*N B.* *lyk l.* 144] Note also how *Ic* [I] had coalesced with *have*, forming "i chawe," *l.* 369. The probability therefore is that *ch* is here to be sounded gutturally. That is, *chirches*, *l.* 734, will be pronounced *khirkkhes*. It is *kirrke* in the "Ormulum". The "Ormulum" still has that adverbial termination [*lic*, *lich*, *ly*,] distinctly guttural, *lig*. According to Ellis, *ch* is to be sounded *tsh* in Chaucer, but then, by Chaucer's time, all alternative forms like *lich* and *ly* had been almost universally levelled down to *ly*, and the difficulty of supposing *ch* sounded *tsh* had therefore disappeared.

In French words, *e. g.*, *chere*, *l.* 270, *ch* was probably sounded as modern *sh* or as *tsh*.

**cch**=c-*ch* [from A. S. *cc*]. See *ch* above. Probably the first *c* in this combination helped to the formation of the *tsh* sound of *ch*. As the sound *ch* became *sh* under French influence, the first *c* [k] in c-*ch* would tend to become *t* from the affinity of the *s* sound with *t*. See Earle's *Philology*, §138. Thus A. S. *feccan*=Chaucer's *fecchen*=*fetch*.

**sch**=s-*ch* [from A. S. *sc*]. See *ch* above. Probably in many words it had become the *s* sound only, or the modern *sh*, as the guttural *ch* decayed. In the "Ormulum," we have both "Engliss" and *Englissch*, from A. S. *Englisc*, though whether *sh* there was sounded as modern *sh* or as s-*h* [=Greek σχ] is uncertain.

The tendency of *sch* to pass into the *s* and modern *sh* sounds, no doubt helped to make the *ch* ultimately become sibilant.

The combination of letters *sch* occurs only once in the Vernon MS. Text: *shuld* for *schuld*, *l.* 695.

**g.** pronounced hard, except in French words when followed by *e* or *i*, or *y*; then pronounced *j*, *e. g.*, *gin* (contrivance), *l.* 103, pronounced *jīn*.

**gn.** In this French combination, *g* was not sounded. The *n* is nasalised slightly.

**h.** except at the beginning of a syllable, is always guttural, like *ch* in Scot. *loch*.

**gh.** This combination never occurs in the Vernon MS. Either the

Saxon guttural *h* still remains, where in Mod. Engl. we would have *gh*, or the decaying *h* is represented by the letter *ȝ*, which corresponds to the modern consonant *y*, slightly gutturalised.

*w.* is always a consonant in the Vernon MS.

*y.* is never a consonant in the Vernon MS. In other words, it is never the first letter of a syllable.

*ȝ.* corresponds to the modern consonantal *y*, slightly gutturalised. It occupies the place of the decaying gutturals *h* or *g*. Thus *thouȝt* and *thouȝt* [=thought] are both found, *riȝt* and *riȝt*, also *forȝet* (forgot), *ȝate* (gate), also *ȝe* (*ye*=A. S. *ge*), *eȝe* [*eye*=A. S. *eage*] *Thouȝt* rhymes with *rouȝt* [515, 516], indicating the guttural sound of *ȝ*. But the rhyme of *fey* and *eȝ* [456-7] shews that the sound of *ȝ*, while slightly guttural, was not far from that of the modern *y*. See also *ll.* 743-4, 307-8. Nevertheless, a little farther on [473-4], the same two terminations were evidently felt to require assimilation, being written *feyȝ* and *eyȝ*, respectively.

*v.* when not initial or capital is written *u*.

#### APPARENT ARBITRARINESS IN SPELLING.—

The Text of the Vernon MS. furnishes an excellent opportunity of controverting the common notion that the spelling of Early English was arbitrary. True, the printing press and the multiplication of books and readers had not led to the adoption of one fixed spelling for each word, but there is no arbitrariness in the variety of spelling. Allowing for MS. or typographical errors, each writer is consistent with himself.

The unconscious principles of Early English spelling are—

I. Spelling is phonetic. [Modern English spelling, with its rigidly fixed spelling for each word, however its setting may vary, is neither phonetic nor consistent. It ignores differences in sounding the same word, due to difference of emphasis, metrical accent, or grammatical function. Thus, modern English unphonetically spells *rebe* *l* (verb), and *rebe* *l* (noun), alike.]

II. This phonetic spelling indicates by change of spelling any recognisable differences in sound, due to tone, emphasis, metrical accent, grammatical function, umlaut or assimilation, and the necessities of rhyme. Thus we find *thank*, *thouȝh*, *thouȝ*, for *though*; *sauȝh*, *saiȝh*, *sauȝ*, *saiȝ*, *say*, for *he saw*; *eȝe*, *eȝe*, *eȝ*, *eyȝ*, for *eye*; *in god fey* [455] and *in good feyȝ* [473], for *in good faith*; *verreyli*, *verreylye*, *verreyliche*, as well as *verreyment*, for *verily*; *dragoun* and *dragun*, for *dragon*; *ab-breȝd* for *up-braid*.

III. This variation was permissible, since during that transition period, there were many alternative and dialectal forms familiar to all.

Some particular instances of this regulated variety may be examined more minutely.

1. Thanh, thouth, thou<sub>3</sub>, for *though*; See ll. 54, 131, 173, 191, 401, 403, 428, 731.

Thanh both bears a metrical accent and is emphatic in meaning, [= *although*].

Thouth bears a metrical accent, but is not naturally rendered by *although*.

Thou<sub>3</sub> does not bear a metrical accent.

2. Sauh, saih, sau<sub>3</sub>, sai<sub>3</sub>, say, for he *saw*; See ll. 127, 229, 248, 507, 512, 514, 594, 625, 667, 674, 773.

Sauh=3rd sing. pret. indic., where it bears a metrical accent.

Saih=3rd sing. pret. subj., where it bears a metrical accent; or *saih* may simply represent the second preterite stem of A. S. grammar.

Sau<sub>3</sub>=*sauh*, metrically lightened. Note that in l. 625, sau<sub>3</sub> precedes a foot of four syllables.

Sai<sub>3</sub>=*saih*, metrically lightened. Note that in l. 248, it precedes a foot of three syllables.

Say=saih, or possibly also=*sauh*, made to rhyme with *lay* and *day* [507 and 773.]

3. E<sub>3e</sub>, ei<sub>3e</sub>, ei<sub>3</sub>, ey<sub>3</sub>, for *eye*; see ll. 288, 308, 310, 313, 317, 372, 456, 474, 513.

E<sub>3e</sub>. This form is practically monosyllabic=Chaucer's 'yē,' e. g.

"To mén that hán. lost heóre (e)<sub>3e</sub> siht'." 288.

Ei<sub>3e</sub>. This form is a dis-syllable, as required by the scanning, e. g.

"For my'n ei<sub>3e</sub>n. beo nó<sup>t</sup> al hóle." 317.

"And hóle ei<sub>3e</sub>n hath'. and feir." 313.

Chaucer also has *eyzen* often.

Ei<sub>3</sub>. This form is required to rhyme with *fey*, 455-6.

Ey<sub>3</sub>. This is to rhyme with *fey<sub>3</sub>*, where mutual assimilation of the endings has taken place, 473-4.

4. Thouht, thou<sub>3t</sub>, for *thought*; see ll. 113, 162, 297, 515, 550, 667, 688.

Thouht is the noun, when it bears a metrical accent.

Thou<sub>3t</sub> is the noun, when it is not metrically accented, also the impersonal verb, *it seemed*.

5. Verreyliche, verreylye, verreyli, verreyment, for *verily*; see ll. 198, 307, 355, 569, 632.

Verreyliche is the regular full form. Wherever two adverbs of this form occur as the rhymes of a couplet, they are almost always written

fully *liche*. The other forms in *-ye*, *-i* or *-ment*, are owing to the necessities of rhyme. Thus—

Verreylye is found rhyming with *eize*, 307; cf. *certainlye* with *folye*, 420; *sikerlye* with *dye*, 490.

Verreyli is found rhyming with *redi*, 192; cf. *sikerli* with *sori*, 246.

Verreyment is found rhyming with *testament*, 356. Cf. 632.

6. Dragon, dragoun, for *dragon*; see ll. 508, 535.

Dragun. In this form, the *un* is the extra cæsura syllable, hence very lightly passed over. See u French sound, above.

Dragoun. In this form, the *oun* is the ordinary unaccented syllable of the iambus.

7. Thenne, then, than, for *then*; see ll. 16, 40, 50, &c., 31, 41, 186. &c., 118, 145, 259.

Thenne. This form always has a metrical accent, and is an adverb of time=*then*, or *after that*.

Then. This form never has a metrical accent, except when the word is spelled so for the sake of rhyme, e. g., in 234, 389, rhyming with *men*. Besides the above uses, this form is also used for the modern comparative *than*, and for the modern symbolic *then* which merely marks a stage in a statement, e. g. "This, then, is what I say."

In brief, *then* is lighter both metrically and in meaning than *thenne*.

N. B. ¶ 10 "Fouloire thenne. then ény—."

Than. This form is due to necessity of rhyme. In meaning it is more akin to *thenne* than to *then*. It is not of course the modern English *than*.

8. Feith, faath, fey, fey3, fay, for *faith*. See ll. 3, 5, 94, 455, 559. The forms *feid* [cf. *jeith*] and *fey* are found in Old French. The other forms in this Text may all be explained by the necessities of rhyme.

9. Lesse, lasse, for *less*. See 29, 150. Cf. Anglo-Saxon *lytel*, *laessa*, *laest*. Both forms are found in Chaucer. The form *lesse* seems preferred in l. 29 to rhyme with *richesse*.

10. Fader, fadur; brother, brothur; whether, whethur, &c. See 217, 270, 340, 343, 353, 365, 382, 605, 765, 766.

The *ur* syllable will almost always be unmistakably lighter metrically than the *er* syllable. The *ur* often forms the additional cæsura syllable.

11. Compare neih and nyh, for *nigh*; ll. 50, 150, 500.

„ thoruh and thorwh, for *through*; ll. 16, 737, 792.

„ zong and 3yng, for *young*; ll. 105, 583, 586.

„ mon and man, for *man*; ll. 1, 86, 118, 128, 146, 248, &c.

„ good and god, for *good*; ll. 1, 455, 473.

12. Nouht, nauht, nou3t, not, ne, for *nought*, *naught*, *nothing*, *not*. See ll. 298, 493, 549, 468, 52, 120, 355, 46, 317, 58, 55, &c.

The following distinctions are generally clear.

Nouht is the emphatic adverb=in *no whit*, not at all, where it bears a strong metrical accent.

Nauht is the same—in a form to rhyme with *tauht*, l. 468.

Nouzt is the same, where it bears no metrical accent.

Nouzt is also the noun form=nothing, nought.

Not is the unemphatic negative adverb form, whether it bears a metrical accent or not.

Ne is the same, when a mere negative particle, followed by another negative, *e. g.*, l. 583, also before certain familiar words, beginning with a vowel or *h*, with which it has coalesced, *e. g.*, *nath*, *nedde* (*ne hath*, *ne had*) ll. 55, 62, also when it is to be translated *nor*, l. 442.

13. Josafaph, Josaphath, J̄osafaht, Josafath, ll. 4, 74, 205, 267, 278, 667, &c., &c. In the case of this proper name, the variations are successive; the scribe never goes back to a discarded form. The form *Josafath* is what he ultimately uses in the last ten occurrences of the name. The form *ht* for *th* [*Josafaht*, 267] is paralleled in Scotch, where *drouth* stands for *drought*, but *Josafaht* may simply be a mistake. Ellis notes [ii 477] that the reverse transposition, *viz.*, *th* for *ht*, *e.g.* *knith* for *kniht*, is not infrequent *v* "Havelok the Dane," A. D. 1290. He explains it by the fact that *ht* was fast being sounded *t* and therefore easily confounded with the kindred *th* sound.

PUNCTUATION; USE OF CAPITALS, &c.—There is only one regularly used pause-mark, *viz.*, the dot now used only for the period or full-stop. It is used alike for sense-pauses, and metrical pauses, being in the latter case identical with the full-stop mark still used in musical notation to mark a musical pause. The full-stop mark is not infrequently wanting, although one may be permitted to conjecture that in such case, there was something in the MS. which would indicate a pause. Occasionally it is inserted where it is evidently misplaced, *e.g.*, "A. king," 9. Compare this with "A. wood," where 'A' stands for 'Ah' and is therefore properly followed by a pause-mark. Another pause-mark, the same in form as the modern colon, is also used, although very rarely. It seems to mark a pause of a special nature. It is found twice where in modern English there would be a point of exclamation (!), ll. 363, 451, and twice where the natural pause within the line comes after the *first* foot and that foot a monosyllable, ll. 64, 128. The special nature of the pause suggests that this colon mark was intended at first to be simply the ordinary pause-mark doubled, although the colon now indicates an inferior pause to the single dot.

The writing *I* or *i* for the First Personal Pronoun and elsewhere

[e.g., in the prefix of the Participle Passive] where the *i* is written separate appears at first sight to be arbitrary, but—

Apart from a few instances which are probably typographical or MS. mistakes, the following simple rules embody the usage in the Vernon MS. Text.

1. The First Personal Pronoun 'I' is written with a capital—

At the beginning of a line or sentence.

When it is in danger of coalescing with a following initial vowel or *h*, e.g., 137, 193, 299, 318, &c.

When it stands at the end of a line, e.g., 283, 557.

Also, strange to say, in three cases, 132, 309, 560, before an initial *m*.

Capital *I* has usually a dot placed after it.

2. Elsewhere the *i* of the First Personal Pronoun is always written small.

3. The *i* of the Participle Passive, though often written detached, is always written small, except of course at the beginning of a line. Similarly other detached *i*'s, e.g., *i* *nouh* and *i* *wis*.

Capitals within the line—Many adjectives and nouns, (other than Proper Nouns) are written with capital letters. Such words invariably bear a metrical accent. The capitals were evidently intended as an aid to reading and proper accentuation.

*ff* stands for *F*.

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#### NOTES TO THE VERNON MS. TEXT.

1. Accent thus: "A goód mon ther wás. ánd a cléne."
2. Callen: The 3rd pl. pres. indic. in *en* is a mark of Midland origin, as in Chaucer's English.
3. Faath, fley (*l. 5*): See Introduction, p. 65. In good faath = faithfully
6. God verrey: the true God. Note the French position of the adjective. The same phrase, though in different context, survives in the Niene Creed, recited in the Church of England—"very God of very God." In this text and in the H. Text, *verrey* is only an adjective; in Chaucer it is an adjective or adverb; in Mod. Eng. it is very seldom an adjective.
7. Inde: This word [India] Ellis considers to be a dissyllable in Chaucer, and to have come into English from French. [II. p. 276.] Horstmann substituted *Inde* for the M S. *Jude*.
8. Sum tyme: a certain time, once, at one time. Its meaning is either demonstrative or indefinite; in the modern *some-time*, it is only indefinite, and its application is limited to future time. See H. 619; also note the modern future reference in H. 99. In such expressions as

*some men* we have simply the plural of the same A. S. and E. E. *sum*=one, a certain. Accent the line thus—"Inde sum ty'me. ás men téllen."

9. Yr: A. S.=anger. See note to *angers*, H. 593.

11. Porsuwed: pursued.

11. Lest: Luytel, luttel or luttal; lasse or lesse; lest, all occur in this text. A. S. lytel, laessa, laest. Until in the 18th century the pronunciation of *lest* became *least*, there had been almost no change in the pronunciation of this Adjective since A. S. times.

"Most and lest": greatest and least, high and low. In the more modern form "most and lest," this is a stock phrase of Chaucer. See R. of R. 6876, &c. See "more and less," H. 38.

13. The bok: that is the book of John Damascene, or Joannes Damascenus, a theologian of the 8th century A.D. [See Dr. Macdonald's Introduction to the "story of Barlaam and Joasaph," pp. liii-lvi].

17. Real: regal, royal.

20. He let him seche: he had him sought, he caused him to be sought for—an A. S. idiom with *let* and the pres. infin. active. This is the same Verb as *let*, leave off; and as *let*, allow. See notes to 45, 461.

20. Withouten oth: an almost meaningless phrase = I say it without oath, nevertheless decisively. The phrase seems here a bit of padding, merely to complete the metre. The Bodleian MS. Text, which is later and probably a paraphrase of this, boldly renders it "he swore his oth," contradicting the Vernon MS. to the ear, but preserving the meaning. Such phrases, e.g. 'withouten offense,' 43; 'withouten les,' 57; 'withouten lesing,' 125; 'withouten glose,' 166; 'withouten blame,' 598; 'withouten ire,' 635; 'withouten othus,' 750; 'withouten misse,' 765; are a constant feature of this Text. They are indeed common throughout Mid. E. [Ellis, II. 474]. We find them not very infrequent in those of the Canterbury Tales which come from conventionally educated personages, e.g., in The Man of Lawe's Tale, The Seconde Nonne's Tale, &c. That they are of the nature of metrical padding and of mere expletives is shown by the fact that they occur regularly at the end of lines. (The writer in fact never ends a sentence in the middle of a line.)

• Many of them seem translations of French phrases, e.g., 'withouten fayl,' 64 and 'withouten misse,' 765 = Chaucer's 'sans faille'; 'withouten les,' 57 = 'sans perdre'; 'withouten doute' (Chaucer) = 'sans doute,' [Chaucer, Cant. Tales, 7421] In fact the construction of some such phrases, viz., *without*, *for*, *of*, with the infinitive, is a copy of the French infinitive governed by *sans*, *pour* or *de*. The fact that many of these phrases are translations, may partly explain the want of force and of appropriateness in such phrases. See Kington Oliphant "O and Mid. English," p. 384.

21. Stounde: hour; A. S. *stund*, space of time; Germ. *Stunde*, hour.

22. Unnethe: not easily, with difficulty; A. S. *un-eathe*. It is found once in Shaks., *unneath*.

22. Tho: there. A. S. *tha*. See 414, also note to *tho*, 394.

28. Othur: other; A. S. *other*, second, other—an adjective. Note ll. 334, 753, 755. *Othurwhile...othurwhile*=at one time...at another time. Note the pl. *othure*, *othur*, 29, 144, used pronominally=other things. other persons, others. This pl. *other* is often found in the 16th cent. Note *outhur*, 241, or—from A. S. *ægther* or from A. S. *oththe*, or.

32. A. wood of wite and fol:—Ah, mad in mind, and fool. A. S. *wol*, mad. *Mad* also occurs here, 720. Cf. *A: fol*, 363, and note to *fool*, 466.

34. Disece: dis-ease, discomfort.

34. Tristour: sadness. *Latin*, *tristitia*. The correct form should have been *tristise* or *tristice* like *justice*, or *tristesse* like *richesse*, 30, but either the commoner French Noun formative in *eur*, *our* had become the standard one, or *tristour* is a metrical license here to rhyme with *honour*.

37. Onswæred: The verb has the accent always on the first syllable as in A. S. In Chaucer the accent is on the second syllable mostly. Note the accent of the noun, l. 38.

38. Wolt: This auxiliary is found inflected and conjugated thus:—[I wol], thou wolt, he wol, or he wole. [I wolde], thou woldast, he wolde—we, &c., wolde. But the older vowel of the pres. indic. and infin. is found preserved in the negative form, 'hit nil,' 472. The above is Midland style and is as in Chaucer.

39. Voyde: This Norman French word, originally adjective, is used very variously. In Chaucer it is found in three senses, (1) to go away, (neuter); (2) to go away from; (3) to put away, as here. In Shakespeare only the two last are found; in Mod. Eng. only the last, as in the V. Text.

40. Schal: The forms of this verb according to this text are—1 *Present indic.* I schal, thou schalt, he schal; we &c., schul. *Pret. indic.* I schulde or shuld (605), [thou schuldest], he schulde; we, &c., schulle or schulden. This is practically as in Chaucer. Chaucer has also the more modern form *sholde*.

41. Sey: *infin.* say. The forms of this verb are—pres. indic. I say or seye or seo [309, unaccented], thou seist, he seith or scis; we, &c., seyn.

*Pret. indic. sing.* seide, &c.; pl. seiden.

*Infin.* sey and [for rhyme, 758] sayz.

44. Offense: Note the original correct spelling with s. *Lat.* *offensio*. Influence, &c., are from *Latin* *entia*. The phrase is really a part of the



monk's reply. The question was put to him thrice, and then he spoke with this apology.

45. Theose: This is by origin the plural of A. S. *thes*, pl. *thas*, the second demonstrative in A. S., the plural of *thæt* (that) being *thá*. In sense it seems here to be indiscriminately the plural of *this* or of *that*, which are both found here in the singular. *This* (pl.) is found once. Can this form *theose* be the explanation of the final bifurcation of A. S. *thus* into *these* and *those*? The modern *those* first appears in English in A.D. 1250. *Kington-Oliphant*. Compare *weox*, waxed, H. 16, and *wox*, V. 115, both from the A. S. *weox*; also Chaucer, *lese*, and H. 1151, *lose* from the A. S. *leosan*. See notes to *That*, 181; *Tother*, 377.

45. Letten:—*Lette*, hinder, and *lete*, leave, allow, both occur in the text and as a rule are distinguished in spelling, but *lete* sometimes has *tt*. This is as in Chaucer. Both are spelled *let* in Mod. Eng. but have the *tt* sound.

46. May:—The forms of this verb in this text are—

Pres. indic. and subj.—I may or mai, thou maiht or maizt, he may or mai; we, &c., mowen or mowe.

Pret. indic. and subj.—mihte or miht, &c.

Its sense at this period was *can*, *be able*, as in A. S. and in Chaucer, and in the noun *might* in Mod. Eng.

46. Seyn:—seen. The verb as found here is—

Pres. indic.—seo 3c; subj. he seo (559).

Pret indic.—3 sing. sauh, sau3, say (for rhyme); subj (?) 3 sing. saih, saiz, say (for rhyme).

Infin —seo, se (for rhyme).

Pcp. pass.—seyn, sein.

Gerund—seoyng, seoeing (for rhyme).

48. Equite...prudence: These were two of the four cardinal virtues of Mediæval Ethics. They were—1. Justice or Equity or Rihtwisnes; 2. Prudence or Warschiþe (wariness); 3. Moderation or Temperance or Malth; 4. Fortitude or Strength.

49. Mot:—Here and in similar stock phrases of the nature of prayers, in Mid. Eng. *mot* is used in its A. S. sense=*it may*, *it is allowed*, or (subj.) *may it*, *let it be allowed*. "As thou seist; so mot hit beo"=Let it be as thou sayest, or, I say *Amen* to all that. "So mote it be" is still a Freemason's formula for *Amen*. Compare also the expletive of Chaucer, &c. "So mot I thec," So may I prosper, which occurs in l. 92 of this Text.

*Mot* is one of the praeterito-praesentia verbs, its new praeterite being *moste* [= Mod. Eng. *might*.] N. B. 698, "He preyed that he moste stille ther dwelle." *Moste* is also found in Chaucer in the sense of *might*, but very rarely, and as here only in a prayer.

But even in A. S., *mot*, *most* is found in the sense not only of *may*, *might* but also of *must*, i.e., *have to*, *had to*; and by Chaucer's time this had become the invariable sense, except in the stock phrases referred to above. Likewise another development had taken place. *Moste* itself was becoming in meaning, not *had to*, but modern *must*, which is present tense=*have to*, a new praeterito-praesentia verb; and *most* was thus gradually superseding its own present *mot*. Chaucer seems clearly to make common people use the present *mot*, and people of higher rank, the present *most* [must]. We have the new praeterito-praesentia *most* in this text, 560.

52. Ben: are. The forms of the verb *to be* in this text are—

Pres. indic.—I am, thou art, he is; we, &c., ben, beoth [in 477, before an initial *th.*].

Pres. subj.—Sing. beo; pl. beo and be [for rhyme].

Infin.—beo and be [for rhyme].

Inper. sing.—beo. Gerund—ben, 314.

Pret.—Metrical considerations apparently explain the four forms of the plural found here—weren, were, weoren, weore. These forms seem used indiscriminately for the indicative and subjunctive.

There is no *are* in this text—a clear indication of the date or locality of its composition. *Are* is Danish and is found in Northern A. S. even before the Conquest. It made its way South and inland until we find it in Chaucer's London English, say of 1350 A.D., though much less rarely than *ben*. Its absence here is a proof of an earlier date than Chaucer, or if not, a locality to the W. or S. W. of London, inland. We also find *are* in Piers Plowman's English of about the same date, of the Lower Severn district.

54. Hem: The forms of the third pers. pron. in this Text are—Sing. Mas. he, his, him, or hym (once), or hyn (once—Cf. A. S., acc. sing. mas. *hine*.) Fem. heo, hirc, hire or hir. Neut. hit, [his,] hit. Plur. thei, heore, or heor (once), hem. *Their*, *them* are not found in the Vern. Text, or in Chaucer.

In two respects these forms are distinctly less advanced than those in Chaucer. Here we meet the A. S. form *heo*, instead of Chaucer's *she*, and *hit* is always spelled properly with *h*, whereas Chaucer has both *hit* and *it*, and the H. Text only *it*. In other words the language of the time and locality of this Text has only altered the A. S. third pers. pron. in three or at most four instances, not regarding inflections and mere vowel changes, viz., *thei* for A. S. *hie*, *hem* (acc.) for *hie*, *her* (acc.) for *hie*, *hit*, (dat. sing. neut.) for him; whereas Chaucer's English has altered in nine instances, viz., *him* (acc.) for A. S. *hine*, *she* for *heo*, *her* (acc.) for *hie*, *hers*, *it* for *hit*, *it* dat. sing. neut.) for *him*, *thei* for *hie*, *hem* (acc.) for *hie*, *theirs*, and modern English

has altered in eleven instances, viz., as above, and *its* for *his* (neut.), *thei* (acc.) for *hie*, *their* for *hiera*, [Vern. MS. *heore*.] The use of *heo* for *sh* is a sure mark about this time of a Southern origin, for long before the Danish *she*, *sche* had reached the Southern part of the Danelagh.

54. *Thei* peyne:—they take pains—a common verb in Mid. Eng.

57. *Withoute* les:—without loss; Mid. Eng. *loosen*, *lesen*; H. Text *lose*, A. S. *leosian*, to lose. See note to 308. This is the infin. or gerund minus the inflection.

60. *Muchel*:—much; A. S. *micel*, modern Scotch, *mikkell* or *mukkel* Sans. *mahan*. *Muche* is also found, 30, 269. The form without the final *el* is found in London English early in the 12th century [Kington-Oliphant]. After the Conquest the *u* for *i* was a sign of Southern speech and the *i* of Northern, while Chaucer [London-district English] uses the forms *moche*, *mochel*, and very rarely, *muchel*.

62. *Nedde* I beo hoten the: Had not I promised to thee [to put away wrath.] He refers to his words, l. 49, where he accepted the Monk's advice. It is put more fully and clearly in the B. Text, 35–54.

62. *Beo* hoten: pep. pass. A. S. *behatan*, *behet*, *behaten*, to promise. We find *behihte* and *behiht* 3 s. pret. 437, 447. Chaucer has also the pres. *behefe* and *behihte*; pret., *behihte*, pep. pass. *behiht*. He does not use *behoten*. The pret. *behiht* is interesting, as the Mss. Goth.—*haihait* (hiht.) shews it to be a re-duplicated pret. like *did*—the only two re-duplicated prets. in English, Cf. *behest* = command, [in Chaucer = promise.]

63. *Don*:—Infin. of *do*. The principal parts found here are—*don*, *dude*, (pep. pass) *don*; A. S., *don*, *dyde*, *ge-don*. That is, its principal parts are practically the same from A. S. time down to the present. 'Dude' is a mark of a Southern locality.

For the independent sense of *don* [=make], see 140, and note to 184. *Do* meaning *finished*, see H. 414, "done to ded." For the use of the infin. of the auxiliary *do*, see H. 969.

63. *Out of my counsayl*:—contrary to my purpose.

67. *Fleo*:—In A. S. the two verbs *fleogan*, *fleag*, *flogen* [fly or flee], and *fleon*, *fleah*, *flogen* [flee or fly] are practically interchangeable. That is when translating A. S. into Mod. Eng. we render any part of either as *fly*, *flew*, *flown*, or as *fly* [obsol. *flee*] *fled*, *fled* just as the context dictates. The confusion seems complete in this Vern. Text. See note to H. 514. As regards form, *fleo* [67, 438,] probably belongs to *fleon*; *flouwen* [infin. 492] to *fleagan*; *flouwen* [pass. pep. 744] to *fleon* or *fleogan*; *fleyh* [pret. sing. 449] to *fleon* or *fleogan*.

As regards *fleyh*, similar forms are found in *Piers Plowman* [*fleiz* and in Chaucer [*fley* and *fleigh*]. The pret. pl. *fluwen* [*flew*] is found in

Layamon A.D. 1205, and from this pret. pl. form, the modern pret. sing. has come.

*Fled* as in Mod. Eng. is found both in Chaucer and Piers Plowman, though not in the Vern. Text. It occurs H. 569.

68. *Spille*:—destroy, spoil. In A. S. as here, *spillan* is always active; in Chaucer it is as often neuter, *perish*, as active. See H. 560. N. B. both uses of *spoil* in Mod. Eng.

The modern *spill* [to let a liquid fall out] is derived from the above, from its conjunction with *life*, *blood*, &c. This sense is found about the year 1250. *Spoil* [rob] is a different word, from Latin.

68. *Nou a non riht*: now just at once. *A non*=on one=in one [moment]. Originally *on an* meant 'in one body,' 'continually'—Kington-Oliphant. The writing 'a non' is a scribe's error, like a *nickname* for an *eke-name*. Cf. 354, 533, 730. *Riht* is an A. S. adverb, *rihte*, used in A. S. as here= *just*, also *directly*, *perfectly*, *exactly*. Note that all these substitutes for *riht* are N. Fr. words.

In A. S. *rihte* is not used as the superlative adverb, that is, as *very* before adjectives. That place is occupied by *swithe*. *Riht* [= *very*] is first found in Ormin. A. D. 1215. Both *swithe*, 83, and *riht* [= *very*] are found here, also, *ful*, 69, another substitute for *swithe*. The N. Fr. *very*, which has almost superseded all three, *swithe*, *riht*, *ful*, is found in this text only as an adjective, 6.

69. *Ful serewful*:—*Ful*: see *riht* above. *Serewful*: A. S. *sorhful*. *u* was no doubt a slightly guttural consonant.

73. A *knaue child*:—a boy child, a male child. A. S. *cnapa*, boy. In A. S. the words for the successive ages were *bearn*, offspring or infant; *cild*, child; *cnapa*, boy; *cniht*, youth. See Bosworth's A. S. Dict. *Cild*. *Cnapa* and *cniht* also had the meaning of *servant*. About A. D. 1050, *cniht* acquired its new meaning of *knight*, that is, before the Norman Conquest; and that is the only meaning which the word bears in Mid. Eng. During the whole Transition period, *cnapa*, that is, *knave*, had no bad sense; it is incorrect to charge the Normans with deteriorating the word. In Chaucer and Piers Plowman, *knave* means only *boy* and *servant*. This phrase *knave child* is the stock phrase for male child. The bad sense of *knave* had however come up by A. D. 1360. [Kington-Oliphant, p. 77.]

The word *child* then naturally came to have the senses of *cnapa* and *cniht* added to its own, and accordingly here [226] and elsewhere, at this time, about A. D. 1300, we find it meaning *youth*. Note Scot. *childe*, Byron's *Childe Harold*.

73. That *wel was kept*:—who was held in great regard. Cf. Chaucer's *rase* 'Tak kepe'=take heed, with which compare, H. 569 945, 586.

75. Tyde: time, occasion. A. S. *tid*.

76. Uche: each. A. S. *aelc*. Cf. *such*, A. S. *swilc*. By this date the *l* has been dropped, the A. S. *c* (*k*) has become *ch*, and the *ae* has in a Southern district become *u*, hence *uch*. It is interesting to note a compound of *uch*, 85, *euerichon* [ever-each-one], in which *uch* has its Midland form *ich* as in Chaucer. Note also the S. E. form *ech*, B. 136, as in Chaucer; *echa*, B. 696. [Its northern and more primitive form is seen in Scot. *ilka*, H. 71; *euer ilk a*, H. 1098.]

77. On heore gyse:—in their own fashion. Heore—See note to *hem*, 54. The gen. pron. is here reflexive; the separate reflexives, which date from A. S. time, being reserved for emphasis. *Himself*, 97, his own self. Cf. 309.

82. He gedered of clerkes of astronomye: he gathered of men skilled in astrology. Geder—A. S. *gadrian*.

83. Swithe faste with alle:—very quickly also.

85. Nyh:—Note metrical variations, 150, 500.

85. Euerichon:—ever-each-one, everyone. See note to *uch*, 76. In the *y* of *every*, we note still another form of A. S. *aelc*. This 12th century Essex form in *y* is confirmation that *ch*, at least in *uch*, was still guttural. *Ever* in composition with pronouns is generally last, not first, as here e. g., *whoever*. See Kington Oliphant.

90. Thas is:—The spelling seems due to umlaut or infection of sound.

92. Wel bettre:—much better. *Wel* is the adverb of *good* in A. S. as now. It also means *much*, *very*, in A. S., as here in Mid. Eng., e.g. 'wel nyh,' 85, 'wel bettre,' 'wel god'; and as in Mod. Eng. in certain connections, e. g., 'It was not well begun, before,' 'Well worthy of—'. Its use as an adjective ['He is well.' 'It is well.'] dates from Mid. Eng. 1280.—Kington-Oliphant.

92. So mot i the:—See note to *mot*, 49. *The* is infin. of A. S. *theon* to prosper.

98. Godus:—Note the Southern *u* both in the inflexion of the gen. sing. and, in 78, of the nom. plur. Cf. 174, 184, 210, 337, 340, 750, 792, &c. The metre shows the *u* to have been a very short dull sound. Note—*goddus*, plur.; *godus*, gen. sing.

100. A ferd:—afraid.

103. Maad of wel queynte gin:—made of a very curious design.

103. Queynte: [Lat. *cognitus*, known] has had its meaning shaped by another Latin word *compt-us*, neat. Gin: contrivance, design, Mod. Eng. *gin*, snare. It is the same word as *engyn* [188] mind, intention—Latin, *in-genium*. In "Bruce," XVII, 434, 468, we find both *gynour* and *engynour*, engineer.

106. *Repair*:—place of resort, dwelling-place. The verb *repair*, [go to,] is still common. Its etymol. sense [re-patriare] is *to return to one's country*. In Chaucer it means *to return*.

107. *Him lete wite ne se*:—let him neither know nor see. *Lete*: see note to 20. *Se*: see note to 46.

107. *Wite*:—The parts found here are:—Infin., imper., and gerund.—*wite*; pres. indic. and subj.—I (Ich) *wot*, thou *wost*, he *wot*; pret.—I (Ich) *wuste*, thou *wustest*, he *wuste*; pep. pass.—*wusten*. The *u* of the pret., instead of *i*, which is found in Chaucer, is a Southern mark. A. S. *witan*, [Ic *wat*], *wiste*, *witen*. See notes to H. 88, B. 27.

108. *Elde*:—old age. A. S. *ieldo*.

109. *Was maad*:—was made, happened. In Wycliffe's N. T. [1383] *was maad*, or *was don* [Lat. *factum est*.] stands regularly for the *came to pass* of the A. V. of 1611.

110. *Chere*:—countenance. [French].

110. *Un glad*: *Glad* [see 560] is a common causative verb in Mid. Eng.=make glad, gladden. Pret. *gladde*. A. S. *gladian*.

113. *Were*:—might be—subjunctive. See note to 52, *ben*.

113. *Lykyng*:—pleasure—the noun from the A. S. verb *lician*, please, [transitive and impersonal.] from which the modern *like*, take pleasure in, is a derivative. *Like* in this original sense is still seen in the impersonal verb, "It liketh me not."

119. *As he hem trist*:—as he trusted them, *i.e.*, on pain of forfeiting his confidence. *Trist* is not found in A. S., or in French. It is a Danish word, although here found far south.

125. *Withouten lesyng*:—without lying—a mere expletive. Compare Chaucer's phrases, "Withouten lye," Knight's Tale, 2157; "I wol not lye," Nonne Prestes Tale, 125, &c; "The soth to sey"; "But lesing," in Barbour's "Bruce." See H. 498. *Leasing*, lying, is found in the Bible of 1611, Ps. 5. 6. A. S. *leasung*, a lie; A. S. *leas*, lax, false, a lie. N. B. "Withouten les," 57, without loss. See note to B. 116, *be ly3e*, *lees*.

• 126. *An hunting*:—on hunting, a hunting. *An* is the A. S. prep. *on*, as in *a year*, *a day*, *asleep*, *aboard*, *among*, *anon*. See *on hunting*, H. 92.

128. *Ligge*:—lie. A. S. *licgan*, *laeg*, *legen*. The *gg* is regularly found in Chaucer, although it had disappeared in the derived weak verb, *lay*, Chaucer, *leye*, A. S. *legan*. This *gg* may be said to survive still in *lodge*, *lodging*; Chaucer, *logge*, *loggying*. It still survives in certain dialects. See Tennyson's Northern Farmer, "*liggin*," lying. The past *lay* [A. S. *laeg*] is seen, 508. The form *lien* is found in the Peterborough Chronicle of 1160, confirming the belief that that district, N. of London rather than London itself, was the original home of Modern English. [Kington-Oliphant.] Contrast *I leyze* the p.cp. pass. in the S. E. B. Text, 712, of date 1335.

131. Luyte:—the noun of *little*, A. S. *lyt*. It was also used as an adjective and adverb. See *lyte*, adj. B. 358.

136. Mynde:—remembrance. See note to 153.

137. The pore seide:—Note *pore* is a dissyllable, according to the A. S. rule of using the weak declension of the adjective after the definite article. Contrast *pore*, 127. See *Introd.*, p. 61. And this although *poor*, is a N. Fr. word.

137. A leche of wordus:—a word-doctor, a circumventor of malicious tales.

139. A fyn:—at the end—a French phrase.

140. Covenable:—French form of *conveniable*, convenient, suitable.

143. For this kniht ... king:—because this knight had favour with the king. *For* or *for that*=A. S. *for thaem the*, because. *To* has here its sense of *at*. Cf. 144, 180; H. 181, 373. For this equivalence of *to* and *at*, note the synonymous infinitival nouns *to do*, *ado*.

148. A bout. to be kyng:—about himself being king. The prepos. and adverb, *about*, A. S. *abutan*, meant [in A. S.] *around*, which meaning is now generally expressed by the bi-lingual phrase *round about*. See 449, 501. After the Conquest it also meant, metaphorically, *nearly*, and *concerning*, senses which *about* still has, e.g. "He spoke about the matter," "He spoke about two hours." See also 278. These are meanings of A. S. *ymbe*. Along with the meaning of *concerning*, the idea of *intention*, *purpose*, often came in; we may detect it in the text here. See also 439, 471. Cf. John vii. 19, in Bible of 1611, "Why goye about to kill me?" Then *about* became merely the sign of the future infinitive or future gerund, e.g., 'He is about to go.' See 528. All this evolution occurred in Middle English, as this single text shows.

151. Wyre:—doubt, fear,=*wer*, 519. It is found only twice in Chaucer, and is there spelled *were*. In one place, 'Romaunt of the Rose,' 5699, it stands for *guerre* [war] in the French original. It is a very common word in Scotch classical literature. Barbour's "Bruce" repeatedly has this phrase 'withouten were,' and once, 'withouten wyre.' This northern use suggests a derivation from A. S. *waere*, caution, rather than from French. Cf. *wary*.

153. Mak mende:—make remembrance, call to mind. *Mende* is a form found in the 'Promptorium Parvulorum,' c. A.D. 1440, for *mynde*, memory, remembrance. *Mind*, verb and subst., still has this sense in Scotch. A. S. *myne*, mind. Note "nothing in mynde," 136; "makes he mynde," H. 5; "in mynde of the," H. 1124. Contrast "made his mone," (=moaned) H. 217.

154. Schal:—must. Note the original signification. Similarly in *wolt*, 155. .

156. Abyte:—habit. Note *abit*, B. 763.

156. I wis:—certainly; A. S. *gewiss*. Throughout later Middle English it is apparently regarded as a part of the verb *wit*, know. See 218, 268, &c. See note to 107.

157. Unkunningly:—ignorantly. See note to H. 4.

163. Seyinge:—See conjugation of *sey* and *seo* in notes to 41, 46. Contrast *seyinge* with *seoyng*, 26.

164. Flynge:—flow. This is a modification of the infin. in *en*, A. S. *fleowan*, in order to rhyme.

165. Worschuped:—honoured, revered. Wycliffe renders the 5th commandment ["Honour thy father and thy mother"] as "Worschipe the fadir and the modir." Mark vii. 10. Cf. the modern phrase "Your worship." *Worschipper*, 95, probably has the above sense.

166. Spised:—spoke against. Cf. *despise*, 483.

166. Glose:—comment, flattery. Fr. *glose*, a gloss, Grk. *glossa*, a tongue. Withouten glose: with perfect plainness of speech. The phrase is found in Chaucer.

168. To folfulle:—carry out, perform. *Folfulle* being a transitive verb we must take *that* as its object. After *schulde* supply *beo*, and see note to H. 1057. *Fulfil* is the form in Chaucer as in Mod. Eng.

171. Lecue:—believe—as in Chaucer; A. S. *geliefan*; *leue*, H. 1037, B. 127. Note also *leue*, live, B. 214; also *leue*, dear, B. 129; also *leue*, leave, B. 262.

173. Though:—Translate as *nevertheless*.

174. Wraththed:—made angry. The noun, adjective and verb are all found in A. S. *wrath*, *wrath*, *wrathian*. In Chaucer the adjective is always spelled *wroth*, as now.

175. Wende:—turned—pret. of *wend*, as in A. S.—a contraction of *wendde*. *Wended* is really a doubled pret. form, made up of *wende*+*ed*. The A. S. and Mid. Eng. pret. form is best preserved in modern *went*. Note that *wende* has its original sense of *turned*, not that of *went*. Its new sense and the form *went* are seen in 177. The differentiation of meaning and form had not yet however taken place [1300–1325 A.D.], for in 226, *wente* is construed with an object, *him* [=himself]. This reflexive use was probably the intermediate stage between the A. S. sense of *wend* and the modern sense of *went*. N. B. *wende*, 723, is the pret. of *wene*, suppose. See note to H. 547.

178. Togedere:—See 82.

178. A pliht:—at once, or perfectly. The word does not occur in Chaucer but is found in earlier literature from Gloucester up into Scotland. See Jamieson's Scot. Dict. and Murray's New Eng. Dict. Its etymol. is disputed. In the H. Text, 166, it is rendered *clearly*, and



by Caxton *in order*. Murray derives it from *à, on, + A. S. pliht*, peril, and renders it *in faith, truly, certainly, surely*. But this other use of it as *simply, at once*, is not thus explained.

181. That thou seidest...dom:—that that thou saidst so and that decision that you gave. The use of *that* [A. S. *se, thæt*] for the demonstrative and relative combined had come down from A. S. *3af*:—The parts of *3af* are—infin. *3iue* or *3eue*; imper. *3if* if; pres. indic. *3eue*; pret. indic. *3af*.

184. Do away:—doff, put off, put away. In Mid. Eng. *do* is used like *put* with a variety of prepositions, e.g., *do down*, H. 1128; *do in*, B. 675; *of do*, B. 763; *do on*, V. 185; *do therin*, H. 459; *do with*, H. 61. Note that *put* is used V. 379.

185. Heire:—a hair shirt, sackcloth. This noun is found in A. S. *haere* and in Chaucer; see also *here*, B. 156. Contrast A. S. *haer*, hair.

187. Morwe:—The final *ow* of Mod. Eng. represents many different terminations in A. S. By this time they were almost levelled. Serew, 69: A. S. *sorh*, sorrow; morwe; A. S. *morgen*, morrow; medewe, 675: A. S. *mædewe*, meadow; *zelwe*, 676: A. S. *geolwa*, yellow; law, H. 4: for A. S. *lagu*; see note to *morewen*, 357.

190. Forte suwe:—In order to follow. Compare *persuved*, 11. The use of *for* to strengthen the gerund appears in the Peterborough Chronicle of 1127. [Kington-Oliphant.] This use of *for* is both a Scandinavian and a French idiom. Note the symphytism of the two symbolic words, *for, to*.

195. Ow:—You. In this text we find—sing. *thou, the* and *thyn* tho; pl. *3e* (always nom.), *3our* and *3or*, *3ow* and *ow*. *Ow* occurs here as the very short cacsura syllable, thus—

“As I. haue ben with’ ow. in proſperité.”

206. Woue:—dwell—common in Mid. Eng. Cf. B. 21, *wonyd*, *wont*, as in Mod. Eng.; *wond*, H. 301; *wunand*, H. 316. A. S. *wunian*. Note *wone*, custom, B. 295; A. S. *gewuna*; and *wonyng*, a dwelling, B. 1038: A. S. *wunung*.

207. Waxen:—waxed—pass. pcp. Pret. *wox*, 115; *wex*, H. 16. Note the twofold outcome of the A. S. pret *weox*, and compare *those* and *these* from Mid. Eng. *theos*. The pret. *wax* is also found in Mid. Eng., and all these three sounds *wox*, *wex*, *wax*, may still be heard in different districts in the pronunciation of the Mod. Eng. pret *waxed*. A. S. *weaxan*, *weox*, *weaxen*. The verb has become weak in Mod. Eng.

209. Purpose:—meditation. This was a French sense of the word which has been dropped. In French itself the word *proposer* had supplanted the radically different word *pourpenser* [to bethink himself]—Morris’ *Chaucer’s Prologue*.

214. Talent:—desire, appetite. This French metaphorical use, derived from the N. T., is common in Mid. Eng.

219. Sende:—A. S. *sendan*, *sende*, *send*; Chaucer *send*, *sente*, *sent*.

226. Him wente:—See note to 175.

227. For the nones:—for the occasion, with arbitrary purpose=for then ones=A. S. *for thaem anan*, for that one (time); or=A. S. *for thaem ane*, for that time only. We find a more correct form *for the none*, 285. This A. S. adverb *ane*, once, only, occurs once in this Text, 608, “on hem one”=at them only. It occurs B. 757, 811, *on*. During the Transition Period the A. S. adv. *ane* was superseded by the adverbial genitive *anes*=*enes*, 421,=*ones*=once, 228, and by *onlich*=only.

228. Mesel:—leper. The history of the words in Eng. for *leper*, *leprosy*, *leprous* is interesting. In A. S. *hreoſla*, *hreoſla*, *hreoſ* (=rough) or *hreoſlig* were respectively used. By this time they had completely disappeared and in Chaucer we find *mesel*, *meselrie*. [cf. *measles*]. These had come in through Norm. French. Wycliffe [1382-4] translating from Latin, regularly uses in his N. T. *Mesel*=leper, *Lepre*=leprosy, and *leprous*. Tyndale [1526] in his N. T. has as in Mod. Eng. *leper*, *leprosy*, *leprous*. These translations of the N. T. gave us the modern terms.

• 229. Saih:—subjunctive [?].

231. Fare:—go. A. S. *faran*, *for*, *faren*; H. Text, 167, 186, 408, *fare*, *fare* or *ferd*. See note to *in feer*, 262.

232. Servauns:—There was great uncertainty evidently with Mid. Eng. writers as to whether final dentals were mere excrescences or an actual part of the word. Cf. 236, *bi ou*=beyond.

236. Passions:—sufferings—etymological and church sense.

236. Bi on:—beyond. See note to 232. The *d*, though no part of the original stem of *yond*, [N. B. Mod. Eng. *yon* and Germ. *jener*] is found in A. S. *begeondan* and is dropped here through mistaken analogy. *Skil*—reason; see note to 552.

238. Be wusten:—are known, ‘are beware of.’ Sweet [First Mid. Eng. Primer] gives the second sense, as well as the first under *witen*. But we may also say that this use of *be* instead of *have* with passive participles is not infrequent in Shaks., e.g.

“How comes it, Michael, you *are* thus forgot.” Othello. 2, 3, 188.

“If I had *been* remembered.” Rich. III. 2, 4, 22.

239. To fore:—before; B. 241, &c. *afore*; Scotch, *afore* [=at fore] See note to Abbot’s Shak. Gram. § 295, 143-4.

240. To fore hond:—*Bivorenhond* is found in the “Ancrer Riwele,” Dorsetshire dialect of 1220; Scotch, *aforehand*. For other adverbs formed with *hand*, see *nereand*, in the neighbourhood, near, H. 458—a distinctive N. word; *hende*, near at hand, B. 828, = A. S. *gehende*

243. Hol and some:—whole and some=the whole company and some=one and all. Hol: A. S. *hal*, whole, entire, hale. The later form *whole* arose in the sixteenth century. Some: See note to 7. Compare ‘al and some,’ 723.

248. Ariueled:—wrinkled; A. S. *geriflod*. Horace Walpole speaks of “riveled parchments.” It is probably akin to A. S. *hreoſla*, a leper and to the Danish word *shrivel*. This compound of *riveled* does not occur anywhere else so far as is known, and Dr. Murray, Editor, “New Eng. Dict.” has suggested to the annotator that *ariueled*, while a possible word, may simply be a scribe’s mistake for “a riveled.” If not, the prefix *a* would stand either for A. S. participial *ge* of *gerifled*, or for the A. S. intensive prefix *a* seen in *ahreoſod*, roughened in skin, leprous.

251. Wlassched:—spoke thick, [?] The word is not found elsewhere. It is probably an onomatopoeic word formed after A. S. *wlipsis*, lisping. *Wlispyt* occurs in Barbour’s ‘Bruce.’ “And in speik wlispyt he sum deill.”

253. Thulke:—[A. S. *thylc*,] the ilke, the same, that same. The word *thilke* for *that* or *that same* is a sure sign of Southern origin in Mid. Eng. See *thilke*, B. 216; *theke*, B. 335. It is frequent in Chaucer, [London], and is not found in “Piers Plowman” about A.D. 1362 [middle valley of Severn] nor in Barbour’s “Bruce” [Scottish Anglian, about A. D. 1375]. The *thulke* in this V. Text for *thilke* is a sure sign of S. W. locality. *Thilk*, *thulke* are not found in the H. Text. *That thulke* V. 253 is tautologous. With *thulke*, compare *that ilke*, B. 149; *these ilke*, B. 212; *that same*, H. 390, 435. See *whuche*, *whilk* in note to V. 532; *swilk*, H. 206.

261. Thei onswerd in the fourscórthe 3ér:—Note the accents, also the weak declension of the adjective.

262. In feer:—together—literally, *upon a journey*. A. S. *faer*, an expedition. The phrase occurs in Chaucer. Other forms are *i-feren* and *ifere*, B. 394. See notes to *fare* 231, H. 975. *In fere*, in fear, also occurs in Chaucer, and H. 800.

264. Welde:—power, authority—an infinitival noun [?] from A. S. *wealdung*, authority, and Mid. Eng. *welden*, to govern. See the verb, H. 56. B. 668. Although this noun does not occur in Skeat’s Mid. Eng. Dict. it is found in H. 630, as well as here. Unwelde: weak, [unwieldy]; see H. 274, and Skeat’s Dict.

269. Disiret:—Final *d* of the inflexions of the weak verb often became *t*, even in A. S. N. B.—*taught*, *sent*, *went*.

273. That fewe neren war:—of which few were aware. The negative *neren* is puzzling. Most likely it is a case of the double negative, *few* itself being a negative word. We find negative words like *deny*, *forbid*, followed by a redundant negative in Shaks. See Abbott’s Gram.

§ 406. It is barely possible that the *n* belongs to the form *feuna* for *few* [a corruption of the A. S. dat. pl.] which is found in the Peterborough Chronicle of date 1120. [Kington-Oliphant].

The distinction in expression between the negative word *few* and the positive phrase *a few* did not exist in Greek, Latin or A. S., nor was it fully established by this time, so that had the negative not been affixed to the verb there would have been greater doubt as to whether *fewe* meant here *only few* or *a few*. N.B.—A. S. Mat. xv, 34 “And feawa fixa” = Wycliffe’s “And a few small fishis.” But the A. S. Mat. xxv, 23, “Thu waere getrywe ofer feawa” is also in Wycliffe, “Upon fewe thingis thou hast ben trewe.

274. Sennar:—Shinar in Mesopotamia. The Septuagint Greek spelling is Senaar. *Samar* is the name in B. 793.

277. Beo spirit:—The H. Text says “Thurgh the haly gast”—similarly the B. Text. Note the old form of *by*; cf. *beside*.

277. Alle thing:—all things. In Chaucer both the plurals *thing* and *thinges* are found; in Wycliffe’s Gospels the plural is regularly *thingis*. Thing in A. S. has its nom. plural the same as the sing, *thing*.

280. Beo asise:—in the mode, *i.e.*, as merchants were wont to do. *Asise* = *assize* = sitting, statute, decree, fixed mode, &c. It was a French law term.

284. Sikerly:—surely. It is the same as the Latin *secure* which had been borrowed by the Teutonic people before the A. S. invasion of England. In France the word became *seur*, *sure*.

288. Han:—haven. The contraction *ha* or *a* for *have* is common in literature down to the ‘Pilgrim’s Progress.’ This is erroneously called a Northern form by Morris, *Spec. of Early Eng.*

292. Holdæ:—keep.

294. Ischal:—*I* tended to coalesce with the future auxiliary *shall* then, as still in Scotch *I’sse* [I shall]. See also 432.

298. Accordeth:—Note the 3rd pl. pres. indic. ending *eth*, [also *booth*, 477.] a mark of the Southern dialect. The use of both terminations *en* and *eph* indicates a locality for this text upon the border between the Midland and Southern dialects. Desire for clearness may have prevented the use of the *en* before *nouht*.

300. Schewh:—for *schewth*, 2 pl. pres. imper. of *shew*. The guttural consonant *w* no doubt produced the sound *schewh* by assimilation; cf. 316. The *th* or *eth* termin. was the regular inflection of the plur. imper. both in the Southern and Midland dialects.

For *th* running into *h* see also *fleyh*, 449, where originally a guttural also preceded, and *Josafaht* for *Josafath*, 267.

303. Vuwe:—view; Fr. *vuc*. Note the French sound of *u* [see

Intro. p. 60] in this French word ultimately producing the peculiar Mod. Eng. u [=yu]; thus *view*=*vya*. *View* is clearly an attempt at phonetic spelling of *vya*. The final consonant *w* has now ceased to be a consonant and has lost its attendant vowel *o*.

307. *Bi holde*:—imperat, 2 sing. or 3 sing. The A. S. verb is so used.

308. *Leose*:—lose. We find the following forms—

A. S. *leosan*, *leas*, *loren*; V. 308, 441, 469, *leose*, —, *ilore*, and *lost*; B. 375, 395, 1046, *lese*, *lore* (subj.), *lore*; Chaucer, *leese* and *lese*, *lost*, *lorn*; H. 520, 519, 533, 1151, *lose*, —, *lorn* and *lost*. The H. Text is almost Mod. Eng. In the earliest or V. Text the verb had already become weak. See notes to *les*, V. 57; *lost*, V. 452.

309. *Myself*:—*Self* has quite reached the stage of being a noun. *Myself*=A. S. *me self*. *His self* is found A.D. 1250—Kington Oliphant. See note to 77.

311. *I cast*:—calculated. *Cast*, H. 41, means *design*, *set*. *Kest*, for rhyme's sake, H. 277; pret. *kest*, 1010.

314. *Bi semeth*:—befits, suits. It is found generally but not always as an impers. verb.

314. *Tho ben*:—to be. Note the assimilation to the *th* of *bi semeth*. cf. *hyn anone*, 320.

318. Of sunnes. I haue a mole:—of sins I have a heap. For the spelling, cf. 369, 392. It is a common spelling in Mid. Eng. though not found in Chaucer.

319. The kyng sone:—the king soon. *Sone* stands both for A. S. *sunu*, son, and for A. S. *sona*, soon, 282, 351, but the context here is clear. In the B. Text, 277, *sone* is rendered mistakenly *Josaphat* i.e., *son*. This and similar errors proves the later origin of the B text. The modern *soon* found in Mid. Eng. marks the long o of the A. S. See Intro. p. 60, oo.

320. *Hyn*:—him, by assimilation to *anone*. See *tho*, 314. It may stand for the A. S. *hine*, acc. sing. mas. of 3 pers. pron. That form is not found in Chaucer, but in the S. W. provincial language it survived long after and is still found in such phrases as "Hit un hard"! [Kington-Oliphant, p. 135; Morris, §157.] *Him* is the acc. form used elsewhere in this text.

324. Note the accentuation—"Hit is to a louwe. zór doying'."

324. *A louwe*:—allow, approve of, praise. These last are the proper senses which are not infrequent in Shaks. and the Bible of 1611. "Ye allow the deeds of your fathers." Luke xi. 48. But in French this verb *allaudare*, praise, had been completely confused with *allocare*, give place to, and the latter sense only has now survived.

327. *Sale*:—hall, saloon—a French word not found in Chaucer, who uses the A. S. *hall*. See 541.

329. A Gret kyng, &c.:—A modified form of this tale is found in the "Gesta Romanorum." The king there fears death; there is no mention of ragged hermits. We also find an account of this trumpet of death in Gower.

329. Drad:—dreaded. The verb is weak in A. S., but strange to say had become strong in Mid. Eng. although it has now again become weak. A. S. *ondraedan*, *ondraed*, *ondraed*; Mid. Eng. *dred*, *dradde*, *drad*. See V. 366, B. 246. Note construction with reflexive, B. 1046.

330. Cart:—A. S. *craet*, is the regular word at this time for carriage, i.e., either *chariot* or *cart*; though the French *chare*, Lat. *currus*, chariot, is also found. See H. and B. Texts, also Chaucer. In "Perceival and Isumbras" A.D. 1290, we read that Pharaoh's host pursued the Israelites in *cartes*.

331. Othur while:—one time. See note to 28. *Other* singly in such phrases as this generally refers to future time, e.g., "an-other day," but note "the other day" referring to past time, as in this passage.

332. Flobliche:—is almost certainly the adverb of *feble*, 25, 401, = *feble-lich*, and then by metathesis *feblich*. It cannot be any echo of the original Latin *febilis*.

337. Grete:—Note that the final *e* is not silent; it indicates the plural.

340. Everidel:—every part, entirely. A. S. *dael*=part, deal. N.B. *adel*, 364, a bit, aught; *ever ilk a dele*, H. 1098; *sumdel*, H. 311.

341. Schende:—*Schenden*, *schende*, *sehent*, to injure, shame. A. S. *scendan*. Schonde:—disgrace; A. S. *scond* and *sceand*. In Mid. Eng. the substantives *schennesse*, B. 956, and *scheudship*, Chaucer, also occur.

345. A máner custúm:—Note the accentuation. Cf. *máner* with *manéer*, 487, &c. At this time *maner* was used in two ways, (1) in such phrases as *a maner custum*, *al maner thinge*, 596, *no maner wight* [Chauc. Prol. 71] in which the accent was on the first syll., and (2) as an independent noun, with the accent as in the French original *manér*.

350. I knowe:—infin. corresponding to A. S. *gecnawan*, to know, understand—an alternative form of A. S. *cnawan*.

351. Eneþsonge:—vespers, the sixth of the seven canonical hours of worship. Its hour is one hour before sunset.

351. Throwe:—a short time. A. S. *thrag*, *thraþ*.

353. Brothur þate:—*Brothor* in A. S. has no genitive inflection, hence such constructions as this.

354. Almate:—all mat, quite confounded. *Mat* is the term used in chess, viz. *mate* or *check mate* [= Persian *sháh mat*, the king is dead.] *Mat* was introduced by the Normans and is found in Chaucer and Gower.

355. Verreyment:—see 632. Note how the necessity of rhyme brings out the writer's familiarity with the French. This form does not occur in Chaucer.

357. Morewen:—A. S. *morgen*, morning. *Morgen* and *morewen* [here *norewen*] first succeeded to *morgen*. Dropping the *n*, as if it were an inflection, we get *morwe*, *morewe*, that is *morrow*. We find *morewen* and *morwe* here, 187, 652; in B. 155, 157, *morwe*, *morwz*; Chaucer has *morwe*, *morrow*, *morne*, and *morwening* [morning]—the last always for rhyme's sake. This text is therefore nearer, A. S. than Chaucer is. The "Bruce" and the H. Text has only *morn*, H. 181, 410, 1080, which comes from the Danish *mornan*.

The origin of *morning* is doubtful. In the "Owl and Nightingale," A. D. 1240 we find *morezeiing*, also there is the Danish form *mornan*, from one or other of which *morning* may have come. [Kington-Oliphant].

366. That thou dreddest, &c.:—for dreading, &c. This follows *a*: *fol*, in sense. See note to 329.

366. That our:—that hour. Initial *h* even in A. S. before the liquids *l*, *r*, *n*, e.g., in *hlaforð*, lord, and during the transition period before a vowel, was often either dropped or wrongly prefixed. *Ures*, hours, is found in the *Ancren Riwle*, A.D. 1220. Note *that houre*, 384; *houre*, B. 968.

368. Fore goeres:—*viz.* the ragged hermits. The word is found in *Piers Plowman*.

369. To whom:—The relative is—*Nom.* that, *whiche*; *gen.* whos, found once, 480; *dat.* whom, found once. The nominative *who* is found only as an Interrog. and Indef. in these three Texts and in Chaucer. See note to 532, also note to *hos*, *whoso*, 549; also see *who*, 558.

369. I chaue:—I have. Unless the *h* of *have* had entirely lost its guttural sound, it is difficult to believe that the first pers. pron. [*Ich*, *Ich*] could thus coalesce with it if sounded *itsh* at this time, as Ellis contends it was.

369. Singed:—sinned. See note to 318. If we pronounce this *ng* as in *anger*, the difficulty of understanding the spelling is not so great.

373. Four shrines:—Here we have the first original of the story of the Three Caskets in Shakospeare's 'Merchant of Venice.' The various versions of the story are discussed in the Introd. to 'The Merchant of Venice,' Clar. Press, Ed. Shakspeare probably got the tale through the version of the "Gesta Romanorum."

This interlude differs strikingly in some respects in the three Texts. There are four caskets in the two oldest Texts, the Vernon and the Bodlian, and only two. in the Harleian. In Gower's somewhat similar tale there are likewise only two. In the V. Text, the caskets are called *shrines* [French]; in the B. Text, *fates* [vats, A. S. *faet*]; in the H. Text, *kistes* [chests, A.S. *cist*.] The French word in the Vern. Text confirms its priority in time.

377. The tothur:—A. S. *thaet other*, the other. See H. 243, 330.

The final *t* had got attached to the word *other*, cf. *a nothur*, 247. See 557, also 503, *that othur*, where *that* is also the def. art. *Thaet* in A. S. was nom. and acc. sing. neut. of the def. art. and demons. pron. *se*, *seo*, *thaet*. By this time *that* is always the demons. or relat. as now, except in phrases like "That on ..... that othur," 503, H. 244, 330, 465; "That o ... that other," B. 461. But contrast *the other* and *this other*, B. 214, 337, The old pl. of *that* [=the] is seen in 394, *tho tothur tweyn*, the other two. also in H. 160, B. 344. *Tho*=A. S. *tha*. *Tother* had become a recognised word by this time as the phrase *tho tothur*, 394, shows.

377. *Tweyn* :—twain, pair—a noun. Cf. *twci*, 564; *two*, 761, meaning *two*, adjective. See note to 708. No distinction seems observed in the B. Text or in Chaucer between *tweyne*, *twey*, *tweyze*, *two*. A. S. masc. *twegen*, fem. and neut. *twa*. Apparently the dialects which now have *twa* or *two* have followed the neut. and fem. form, while those that have *twey* have followed the masculine and noun form.

386. *Heled* :—concealed; A. S. *helan*.

407. But after that' *quath Bárlaam*. to the *ky'ng pardé* :—Note the accentuation. After that :—according to that fashion. This must refer to 325–6 and to the tale generally, otherwise a negative must have dropped from 408.

407. *Quath* :—said; A. S. *cwethan*, *cwaeth* [*cwædon*], *cweden*; Chaucer, pres. indic. *quethe*, pret. *quod*. The change from A. S. *ae* to *a*, as in *cwaeth*, *quath*, is very common, e.g. *Aelfred*, Alfred; *waes*, was; *waeter*, water. The change of *a* to *o* is also common, but in this case [*quath*, Chaucer, *quod*,] being a second change, it indicates a later date for *quod*. The preference of *d* for *th* is called E. Anglian by Oliphant; in this case the *d* came from the A. S. plural form *cwædon*. The B. Text also has *quath*; the H. Text does not have any form of the word at all, shewing the much later date of that Text.

416. *Vuele* :—*uvel*, evil. See Introd.—*Pronunciation*.

418. *Maumetes* :—*Maumet*, Mahomet, is Mid. Eng. for *idol*. See Chaucer, *Persones Tale*. "Every florein in his coffre is his maumet." *Mau-metri*, *maumetry*, idolatry, H. 22, 492. The mistaken idea prevailed that the Mahomedans were idolaters. Mahomet himself was spoken of as *Mahoun*, *Mahound* and *Makomete*. See B. 1024.

421. An Archer *enes* :—This epilogue is also found in the "Gesta Romanorum" written in England about the close of the 13th century. It may have been borrowed from this or an older version of "Barlam." It is found in Lydgate also under the name "The chorle and the bird." There is also a modern poetical version by Mr. Way.

424. *Nightingal* :—This modern form with *n* [for *nihtegale*=night singer] is found in the poem of A. D. 1240, "The Owl and the Night-ingale." Note *nyght gale*, H. 515.



426. A *zeyn* :—again, against—adv. and prepos. *Azeyn*, *azein*, *aze*, a *zeynes* [prepos.] are also found.

429. Wombe :—stomach. See Wycliffe's Luke XV, 16. Also A. S. *wamb* ; Scotch *wime*.

432. Wisdames :—wisdoms, wise sentences. This seems rather a compound of the noun *dome*, judgment [See 346], than a noun formed with the noun formative *dom*.

440. Lacche :—obtain, clutch ; A. S. *laeccan* and *ge-laeccan*. This maxim we may render, "Never attempt impossibilities."

441. Ilore :—See note to *leose*, 308. This maxim is, "Let go what is irrecoverably lost," or "It is no good crying over spilt milk."

452. Lost :—for the infin. *leose*, for the sake of rhyme.

455. Margeri :—pearl ; *margarite*, H. 530 and Chaucer ; Greek, *μαργαριτης*.

456. Ei<sub>3</sub> :—egg ; *ey<sub>3</sub>*, 474 ; *ey*, B. 423 ; A. S. *aeg*. Murray, New Eng. Dict., does not give *ei<sub>3</sub>*, *ey<sub>3</sub>* as forms of *egg*, but see H. 532.

458. I nouh :—enough ; A. S. *genoh*. See 463.

461. Lete :—forsake, leave off. This is the same verb as *lete*, allow, in 459, 464, and as *let*, cause, in 20. It is different from *lette*, hinder. Cf. A. S. *laetan* and *lettan*. See notes to 20, 45.

462. Cum :—come,—the infin. after *lete*. A. S. *cuman*, *com*, *cumen*. Here we have the pret. *com*, 568, 726. *Cam* for the pret. is however found over a century earlier in Essex. The conjugation in the H. Text is—Infin. and imper. *cum* ; pres. indic. *cum*, *cumes* ; pret. *come* ; pep. pass. *cumen* and *cum*, H. 698 ; gerund, *come* and *cum*, H. 563. The conjugation in the B. Text is—Infin. *come* ; imper. *cum* ; pres. indic. *com* ; pres. subj. *come* ; pret. *cum* and *cam*, B. 1155 ; pep. pass. *I come*. Strange to say, the apparently archaic B. Text is the nearest to Mod. Eng.

The compound *welkume* has a weak conjugation in the H. Text, *welkumd*, H. 361, as in Mod. Eng.

462. Fet the mete :—fetch for thyself meat. A. S. *fetian*, *fette*, *fetod*, to fetch. The Mod. Eng. word *fetch* is from another A. S. verb *feccan*, *feakte*, *feakt*. The verb in Chaucer's time is a mixture of *fetian* and *feccan*, viz., *fecchen*, *fette*, *fet*.

466. Fool :—no doubt contemptuously lengthened. Cf. 32, 363. But the common form in the B. Text is *fool*, B. 1154, &c. In the B. Text, as elsewhere in Mid. Eng. *fool* is either adjunct. or subst. *Fool*, B. 1154 : foolish, lustful.

466. At all :—with it all, amid it all. This phrase superseded the A. S. phrase *mid ealle*.—Kington-Oliphant.

471. Chacche :—another form of *cacche*, catch, 439. This alternative form is another proof that *ch* can not yet have been pronounced

tsh in Saxon words. Cacche [kakkh] and *chacche* [khakkh] are easily conceivable variations, but not *katsh*. and *tsattsh*.

479. Worchipe :—an exceptional spelling for *worschipe*.

482. Clepen :—call, name. A. S. *clypian*, *clippode*, *clypod*. These four shorter two-feet and three-feet lines suggest a quotation, and the parallelism between the two couplets suggests Hebrew poetry. The sentiment is common in the O. T. prophets. Isa. ii. 8 "Their land also is full of idols; they worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made."

484. Diseyuable :—deceivable, deceiving. The French adjective termination *able* had at first either an active or a passive sense, although now always passive, except in *sensible*, *comfortable*, *colourable*. Here we have an instance of its active use. For the explanation of the spelling *deceyuable*, 538, see note to H. 1098.

484. Dilyt :—delight. It is not an uncommon word in Chaucer. The concrete plural *delyces*, delights, 488, is also found in Chaucer. Both are French words from Latin *deliciae*, pleasures. This expression again suggests the ascetic character of the teaching of the poem.

490-540. This moral tale is the longest and most famous of all the fifteen epilogues that are found in one or other of the versions of "Barlam and Josaphat." It also is found in the "Gesta Romanorum," with the same moralization as here. The "Gesta Romanorum," written in England about the end of the 13th century, may have obtained this tale from the V. MS.; the similarity is so close. The version of the "Gesta" is evidently later; it ends with an addition, viz., the offer of a ladder by a friend, his continued delight in the honey, the fall of the tree and the swallowing of the man by the dragon at the bottom of the pit. The versions in the V., B. and H. Texts are all alike.

494. Hized :—hied, hastened; A. S. *higian*.

496. Put :—pit. Fil :—foll. See also 235, 551, 717.

497. Accent thus—Bút riht in his fallyng.

• 498. Bosk :—bush. See *busk*, 505.

499. Slidri bas :—slippery base. *Slidri* from *slide*.

501. Auns :—consideration. Old Fr. *advis*, advice, survey. See *advise*, advise, consider, H. 739, &c. Cf. the meaning of *advisedly*.

502. Mys :—mice. The dialectal state of Mid. Eng. in the 14th century and the local variations in spelling may be noted in connection with this word—V. 527, 502, sing. *mous*, pl. *mys*; B. 461, 459, sing. *mous*, pl. *mees*; H. 575, 596, sing. *mous*, pl. *mise*.

504. Gnowen :—gnawed. A. S. *gnagan*, *gnoh*, *gnagen*. Cf. *flower*, 492, 744, from A. S. *fleoagan*. See *gnaw*, H. 1002, *knaw*, H. 597.

506. A tweyn :—in two; A. S. *on-twegen*, acc. mas. See 377 and note. Chaucer always has *atwo*; A. S. *on twa*, acc. neut.

507. Say :—could see—probably subjunctive mood. It is for *saih*, 512, by necessity of rhyme. See Introd. p. 64, and note to 46.

515. Gobet :—piece, morsel. N. B. Prov. Eng. *gab*, mouth; Gael. *gob*. Cf. *gabble*, *gobble*.

528. Kit :—the common pret. and pass. pep. of Mid. Eng. *cuten*, to cut; Celtic *cwta*, short. This is a Celtic word not found in A. S. It is first found in Layamon who lived on the Severn on the Celtic border. Cf. *kot*, imper. B. 155. The A. S. word was *carve*.

529. Foure Eddres hedes :—Three in 512. The moralizing makes it clear that *four* is correct, as it stands also in the other versions.

530. Withouten wene :—without imagination, assuredly. Wene, or *ween*, imagine, suppose; pret. *wende*, *wend*. See 36, H. 161.

532. The whuche :—*Whuche* occurs seven times in this text, 42, 157, 532, 539, 560, 561, 565. Once it is an interrogative. Of the six times that *whuche* is a relative, five are in the combination *the whuche*. This is proof that this combination formed the link between the A. S. interrog. or indef. *hwilc*, *hwylc*, and the Mod. Eng. relat. *which*, after the pattern of Fr. *lequel*. Note *woche*, B. 29; *whilk*, H. 1057.

539. Blent :—blinded; A. S. *blendian* to blind. Note pret. *blende*, B. 1104. This is a different verb from *blend*, mix. •

540. To know perels :—in knowing perils, *i.e.*, so that he fails to know perils. *To know* is used exactly as the A. S. gerundive could be.

545. This tale of the man with the three friends is introduced so differently in all three Texts that it is clear each Text is independent of the others.

549. As hos seith :—as whoso says, as who says, as one may say, that is to say. *Who* and *whoso* could be used indefinitely [= *one*, *anyone*,] as in A. S., *hwa*, *swa*, *hwa-swa*. The same phrase, “as who saith” is found in Chaucer, “Booke of the Dutchesse,” 559; “Transl. of Boethius,” Bk. II, Pr. 4. The same phrase is also found in Gower. The special form *hoso* for *whoso* is found in a Warwickshire poem of 1280 [Kington-Oliphant, p. 371] also in Piers Plowman, Prol. 144, shewing it to be a special S. W. Midland form of the period of the V. Text. Compare *who sum*, H. 105, whoever, whoso, if any one; Scot. *wha-sumiver*; although these indefs. *hwa* and *sum* are not combined in A. S.

552. The kyng let him somne be skil :—the king caused to summon him with reason. See 236. Compare *knowing*, 299, = Mod. Eng. *skill*. *Skil* is often found in Chaucer and Barbour in the sense of *reason*. In Barbour’s “Bruce” VII, 362, we find *be gude skil*, with good reason. In H. 677, we find *bi skil*, with reason. The bilingualism “oute of skil and reason” occurs in Robert of Brunne, about A. D. 1300.

554. A very feeble line as regards sense. To read *furste* for *fasle*, as in H. 643, only slightly improves the sense.

562. Schul beo my frendes euere. worth :—shall ever be [=worth] among [=beo] my friends. *Worth*: A. S. *weorthan*, become. *Worst*: shalt be, B. 797, 2 sing. pres. indic. [=worthest]. This verb (werden) is the regular auxiliary of the future in German as in these two passages especially B. 797. *Worst* and *wurstow* are found in *Piers Plowman*, and *wurstu* in “King Horn,” Warwickshire, 1280.

567. Confus :—confused—a French participial form found in Chaucer.

575. Wymmen :—See 582, 614, &c. The A. S. is *wifmann*, pl. *wifmenn* or *wimmenn*. Hence the modern pronunciation of the pl. is historically correct. *Wommon* or *woman* is a case of *umlaut*, which came into Mid. Eng. in the W. and S. of England. Hence it is found here. Note *wyme* for *wymen*, B. 1044; also *women*, B. 1154.

576. Payc :—pacify. Nor. Fr. *paier*, Lat. *pacare*. See H. 145, and *apaid* [*ad-pacare*,] H. 383, B. 768.

578. Tyde and tym :—This seems here to be merely a bilingualism. That probably was the origin of the phrase. See note to V. 75.

580. Hete :—heat—subst. and verb; A. S. *hæte* and *hætan*.

583-4. These lines refer to the well known mediæval opinion that Satan often assumed a woman's face. See Chaucer, ‘Man of Lawe's Tale’ “O serpent under femininitee.”

591. Holet—A hybrid word; A. S. *hol*, hole, and French *et*. Cf. *gobet*, 515.

608. Chaufe :—chafe, inflame. Old Fr. *chauser*, Lat. *calefacere*, to make warm.

608. On hem one :—at them only. *On* is here in place of the *in* of 607. This *on* [=at] is the A. S. usage, but in Mid. Eng. *in* largely superseded it. One: See note to 277. \*

618. Attame :—break into, violate. Low Lat. *attaminare*; Fr. *entamer*. It is from the same root as *contaminate*, but is only found in the foregoing concrete sense.

623. Tent :—(tended,) kindled. *Tend* is an A. S. word akin to *timber*; A. S. *tendan*. The compound *a tende*, kindle, A. S. *ontendan*, occurs B. 1103. The Fr. *tend* or *tent*, attend, tend, occurs H. 110, B. 559; pep. pass *tendid*, H. 1148. The Fr. noun *tent*, attention, heed, occurs H. 107.

642. Ther to :—likewise. The word is added merely to complete the line. See 250. But see also 444.

644. In veyn :—In both words a common phrase has become frenchified. A. S. *on idel*; B. 865, *on idyl*; *Piers Plowman*, VI. 580, *an ydel*; Chaucer, *in idel*; Mod. Eng. *in vain*. See note to *On*, 608. Note that both *on* and *in* in such phrases had almost certainly, to begin with, the sense of *on-to* or *in-to*, as A. S. *on* and *in* could have. Compare the Greek *εἰς κενόν*,

also the expression "in any goodnesse," B. 358,='into,' &c. A. S. *idel* means both *idle, futile, vain*; and *idle, unoccupied*.

651. *Ligge*:—*infin.* See note to 128.

653. *Seththe*:—(conj.) *sith*, since. A. S. *sith* [subst. and conj.], time, after; also A. S. *siththan* [adv. and conj.] afterwards, since. We find *sen*, the N. Mid. Eng. form of *siththan* [conj.=since,] H. 171, &c.; and *sethin*, the N. Mid. Eng. form of *siththan* [adv.=afterwards,] H. 453, 486, &c. These two uses are still distinguished in Scotch by *sin* and *syne* respectively. In the B. Text, *seththe* is both adverb and conj. B. 234, 271. See the form *syth*, B. 1212, for rhyme. The subst. *sithe* occurs, H. 735.

653. Muchel ioye and blis:—She refers to Luke xv. 10. "There is joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth." The reference is clear in the B Text, 1094–1098.

660. *Tour*:—tower. That is the common Mid. Eng. form of the word. *Tor* and *tur* [Lat. *turris*] was borrowed by English from Latin before the Norm. Conquest. [See Kington-Oliphant, pp. 78, 330, 492.]

663. *Squached*:—squashed, crushed. Old Fr. *escacher*, to squash.

664. *Mihte not meue*:—could not move. See note to *may*, 46.

664. *Stour*:—battle, attack. Old Fr. *estour*, a combat. Cf. A. S. *styrian*, to agitate, stir. N.B. *stured*, 669. In Scotch *stour* means *dust raised*.

669. *Covetyse*:—ardent desire of any kind. It is generally used either of covetousness or lust. Lat. *cupiditas*.

670. *Soule hele*:—soul-health. This is the regular Mid. Eng. word for *salvation*. "Sowle hele" is the general title of the whole V. MS which contains this text and many other religious pieces. The title is in accordance with the title of the original Greek which calls the story of Barlaam and Josaphat a '*ωρροια ψυχωφελης*,' a spiritually profitable story. But such titles as 'soule hele' seem to have been common in Mid. Eng. 'Sawles warde' is a prose piece of about A. D. 1220.

674. *Metyng*:—dreaming. *Mete*: to dream, A. S. *maetan*. From a literary point of view this dream is the finest portion of the whole poem. The lines go briskly, the language is sweet and the imagination overflows. Too often elsewhere the poem is that of a bald versifier and moraliser. The same portion in the B Text, 1117–1153 is notably inferior to this.

677. *Tren*:—trees. A. S. *treow*, pl. *treowu*. This form, an assimilation to the plural of the weak A. S. nouns, is not found in Chaucer, Gower, Langland, Barbour's 'Bruce' or Wycliffe's Gospels. It is found in Trevisa [Cornwall, 1387,] also about two hundred and fifty years later in the poetry of Sackville, Earl of Dorset, 1536–1608, who belonged by birth to 'Sussex. See Morris' "English Accidence." The locality of

Sackville is an interesting confirmation of the locality of this poem, already defined as S. and W. of London, inland. But it also reappears in the "Tasso" of Fairfax, [Yorkshire,] publ. A.D. 1600. Note *trees*, B. 1119.

682. A riht:—aright, very. A. S. *on riht*. See note to *riht*, 68

683. Mony on:—See also 775, 791, and compare with *moni* 380; *monye*, 734; *many* 752. Note that it follows plur. nouns and may precede a sing. noun, 791. This construction of *many* with *one* is first found in Layamon, c. A.D. 1200. The spelling *mony* or *many* seems determined by the following vowel. A. S. *manig*.

686. Schyninde—pres. pep. of *schinen*, shine. The common ending by this time was *ing* or *yng* [114, 370,] but the older form occasionally recurs; A. S. *ende*.—*Inde* marked the extreme Southern dialect, *-ande* the Northern. In Chaucer *-and* is occasionally found.

689. Citcé:—The double c means simply long e—See Introd. Note the accent in order to keep the rhyme, Contrast with *cite*, 101, 280.

693. Accout—"Súch manér of sóng, syngre thére." See note to *maner*, 345.

694. Non:—misprint for *mon*.

697. Snelle:—quick, sharp. See B 1244. It is not found in Chaucer, but is common in Barbour's 'Bruce.' In Mod. Scotch it is still common, being applied to a biting wind or to frost.

698. Moste:—See note to *mot*, 49.

702. Sted:—place. A. S. *stede*; *standan*, to stand. Cf. "in *stead* of," The phrase *in stede* for the modern *in good stead* occurs, H. 506, although in Mid. Eng. *in stede* is used regularly as *instead* is in Mod. Eng.

708. At o worde:—in one word. The numeral adjective *one* was dropping its final n before consonants, the same as the indef. article form of *one*, viz., *an*, *a* had already done. Compare Chaucer, 'Seconde Nonnes Tale,' 207—

"Oo lord, oo feith, oo god with-outen mo."

*None*, *no* were the corresponding negatives of the numeral adjective *one*, *o*. The B. Text has these same forms.

In place of these four symmetrical adjective forms, Mod. Eng. has only *one* and *no*, certain phrases excepted; Mod. Scotch only *ae* and *nae*.

For the nominal substantives the forms are *on* or *one*, *non* or *none*, as in Mod. Eng.

The usage in the H. Text is very complicated, as becomes a border district, but resembles Mod. Eng. in several respects. *No* is always adjective; *none* and *one* are always subst.: *a* and *ane* stand as in Mod. Eng. for the indefn. numeral adject. [=a certain] or for the indef. article.

711. Cas:—case, chance, event; Lat. *casus*, accident, chance. *By cas*, B. 12, as it happened, [=per chance, per aventure, B. 106, &c.]

716. Or:—ere. See also H. 76, 878; B. 551. *Ar* also occurs, V. 240, and *er*, B. 200. The form *or* bears a lighter accent than *ar*. The adverbs *arely*, H. 181, 802; *erly*, V. 187; *erlich*, B. 155; *erst*, B. 261; *are*, ere now, H. 862, are found.

723. Al and some He wende him. to have overcome:—He supposed that he would have overcome one and all. Him: reflexive, is the subject of the infinitive.

727. Cristendom:—Christianity. The modern sense is, however, found in Chaucer, and this old sense is found so late as Shakespeare.

738. Y nome:—taken. Mid. Eng. *nimen*, *nom* or *nam*, *inumen* or *ynome* or *nome*; A. S. *niman*, *nam*, *numen*. See B. 92, 120, *nym*, imper. and gerund. Even in the “Ormulum,” A. D. 1215, *nime* was being superseded by the Danish *take*.

739. Bi tok him:—gave him, committed to him. See B. 258, 765. This is a common sense (in Mid. Eng. of *take* and *bitake*, in addition to the modern sense, B. 734. It is used reflexively, *commit himself*, B. 359, and this is probably the middle stage between the sense, *give*, and the modern sense. For *take*, lay hold of, see 422.

739. Hol:—wholly. *Hal* had already been used adverbially. [Kington-Oliphant, p. 412.] The N. form is *hali*, *haliȝ*, H. 782, as if from *hal-ig*; the S. form is *holliche*, B. 734; *holly* (Chaucer); as if from *hallice*. See also note to 243.

741. After him:—for him. This is an A. S., a Mod. colloquial, and a Mod. Scotch use, although no longer a standard English use of *after*. See 407, 743, B. 573, &c. *Efter* always in the H. Text.

756. Chestes:—*Chest* is a fairly common Mid. Eng. word meaning *strife*, *dissension*. A. S. *ceast*, borrowed from Lat. *causa*. It here seems to stand onomatopoetically for *growlings*. According to the rules for pronunciation [See Introd.] it would be pron. *khestes* with appropriate guttural sound, not *tshestes*. *Grennynges*:—grinning, snarling.

759. Ur lord, &c.:—a quotation from Hebr. XIII. 6. “The Lord is my helper, and I will not fear what man shall do unto me.”

762. In priuete ne apert:—in private nor in public. Note *apert* is here an adverb. This was a modification of the regular phrase of the time, “prive and apert;” see Chaucer (Tyrwhitt’s Ed.) 6696, 10845. For the adjective, *preue*, private, intimate, see H. 116, &c.

768. Ful thro:—quite eagerly. *Thro*, eager, is a very rare Mid. Eng. word. It is not found in Chaucer or Piers Plowman. *Thra* occurs once in Barbour’s “Bruce,” and fairly often in Scotch literature.

769. Cluppyng:—embracing; A. S. *clyppan*; *clippe*, B. 1155. *Clip* embrace, is not yet wholly obsolete, and the same root is seen in the noun *clip* and in *clasp*.

774. Witerliche:—certainly—a widespread though rare word. *Witedlice* and *witetlice* are also found. A. S. *witodlice*, certainly, truly.

777. As God wolde:—when God willed. This is a common use of *as* in Mid. Eng.

779. XXV<sup>ti</sup>:—contraction of Latin 'quinque et viginti'. The following is the last syllable of the English 'twentyfifthe.' Note that the adjunct. is weak and that this syllable is therefore to be pronounced.

779. [3er.] nothur more ne sum:—neither other more years nor an indefinite number of years. Note that 3er, 761, is used as a plural, hence, it was easy here to adjoin the adjectives *more* and *sum* to 3er, though sing. But both *more* and *sum* may be singular. N. B. *another mo*, Chaucer, "Man of Lawe's Tale," 978. *Nothur more*:—ne othur more; cf. *othere mo*, Chaucer "Chanoun's Yeman's Tale," 1001; "Bruce" V. 152. For the different word *nowther*, neither, see H. 613.

785. Saam: This word, *same*, is not found as a pronoun in A. S. although so common in Mod. Eng. A. S. *gesom*, [adject.] united, peaceable; *swa-same* [advb.] similarly; *samen* [advb.] together. This last adverb seems to have been treated as a noun or pronominal adjective in Mid. Eng. commencing c. A. D. 1200. [Layamon.] Hence came this prepositional phrase *in saam*, in the same place, together. The original adverb appears in "Engl. Metr. Homilies" [of about this date] Ed. by Small—"Amen say we al samen."

792. Loon:—grant, permission, loan. A. S. *luen* or *lan*; Chaucer, [Tyrwhitt's Ed.] 7443, *loue*,—"God be thanked of his loue"—"Praise to God for His permission! See H. 147, B. 728, for the verb *leuen*; A. S. *laenan*; in the same sense, *grant*.

It is a mistake therefore to say that *lend* has the poetical sense of *grant*, *give*; for that is a genuine A. S. and Mid. Eng., not a poetical sense.

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#### THE HARLEIAN MS. TEXT.

\* This forms part of MS. 4196, of the Harleian Collection of MSS. now in the British Museum. MS. 7334 of the collection is the oldest MS. of Chaucer [A. D. 1401—Morris], and from it the Clarendon Press Texts are printed. The collection receives its name from the founder of the collection, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, the Minister of Queen Anne, and the friend of the men of letters of that day.

MS. 4196 is an illuminated MS. belonging to the very beginning of the 15th century, say A.D. 1400. By Rhys David, it is ascribed to the 14th century. The language resembles very closely that of Richard Rolle of Hampole, near Doncaster, who died 1394. Although slight differences are apparent, it belongs undoubtedly to the same locality as Rolle



Unfortunately the end of the MS. is wanting, and as is the case with all the versions of Barlaam and Josaphat, some of the apologues are omitted even in the extant portion. This version is independent of the V. and B. versions. It has been taken from the abridgment used by Jacobus de Voragine, from which also is taken the version in Caxton's "Golden Legend."

The *original* before the translator was apparently in Latin, two lines being transcribed untranslated [between 518 and 519]. If that be so we may infer also, that the original Latin was in alternate Hexameter and Pentameter lines, like these lines. In the British Museum there are a number of MSS. of "Barlaam and Josaphat" in Latin, dating from the 13th and 14th centuries, also a Latin version of the 12th century. Several of the apologues are quite differently told in the H. Text, *e.g.*, that of the man and his three friends, H. 619-657, compared with V. 543-568.

The *metre* in the H. Text is mechanically perfect Iambic Tetrameter couplets, betokening a great advance upon the semi-accented, semi-metrical lines of the V. Text. An aiming at alliteration nevertheless appears frequently in the H. Text.

#### DIALECT.

In the 13th and 14th centuries we find three principal dialects of English clearly separated by many distinctive marks. In addition, the dialects of most districts even within these main divisions, have a character of their own by which they may be distinguished. The three principal dialects are the Northern, Midland and Southern, and of the district dialects we may name—1. The dialects of the extreme S.-W. (Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire); 2. The S. Central (Berks, Hants, and Sussex); 3. Kent; 4. London and surrounding country; 5. Lower Severn or Gloucester District; 6. East Anglia; 7. Huntingdon District; 8. West Central District; 9. Lincolnshire District; 10. Yorkshire; 11. Lowland Scotch. We have already located the V. Text in the South, in the N. portion of the S. Central District, between the S.-W. and the London Districts.

It is easier and more correct to fix the three principal divisions generally without attempting to define boundaries. In the case of dialects there cannot be exactly definable limits, where there are no natural geographical limits; one dialect passes gradually into the neighbouring dialect. But for the sake of definite ideas, we may assign geographical boundaries to the principal dialects as follows: The Southern dialect was spoken between the Thames and the English Channel; the Midland between the Thames and the Humber; the Northern from the Humber to the Forth.

The H. Text is distinctly Northern, although the absence of certain N. marks and the presence of certain S. marks also indicates the Lower Northern District and a locality not very far North even in that. It belongs probably to Yorkshire near its Lincolnshire border.

Proceeding upon the fact that this locality of the H. Text is about as near the Huntingdon District, which is regarded as the home of Mod. Eng., as the London district of Chaucer is, and observing that while the language of Chaucer is much more a dialect compared with Mod. Eng. than the language of the H. Text is, the mode of writing in the H. Text is evidently less simplified, that is, older than Chaucer's, we conclude, upon the whole, that the H. Text is of somewhat later date than that of Chaucer's Prologue, *viz.*, A. D. 1388. Allowing for the recognised fact that the Danish element which prevailed in the district of the H. Text has asserted itself in Mod. Eng., and that more modern forms in the H. Text do not necessarily imply an earlier date, we may safely place the H. Text about A. D. 1400 at latest. In the H. Text three aspirate guttural forms are used, *gh*, *z*, *ȝ*; and *y* is still only a vowel. In the H. M.S. of Chaucer of date A. D. 1401, at latest [Morris], only two such aspirate gutturals are used, *gh*, *ȝ*; and *y* is either a consonant or a vowel. Again allowing a little for provincialism in writing we conclude the dates must nearly coincide, *viz.*, about A. D. 1400.

The following marks of the Northern Dialect may be noted :—

I. VOCABULARY :—

In the H. Text we find the following words that are more or less distinctively N. in writings of the 14th century.

1. *Belde*, 645, &c. = resource, help. This word is never found S. of Yorkshire in Mid Eng. It is the same as A. S. *bieldeo*, boldness, and as Scot. *bielð*, shelter. It has nothing to do with *bail*.

2. *Gate*, 420, &c. = gait, going, way, = S. *way*, *weye*, V. 191, &c. *Gate* is a Danish word, to be distinguished from A. S. *geat*, a gate; *gate*, V. 353. The distinction is carefully made in Ormin, *gate* and *gate*; in this H. Text, 419-20, &c., *gate* and *gate*; in Chaucer, *gate* and *gate*; and in Mod. Scotch, *gait* and *yett*. Mod. Eng. has assimilated the pronunciation though not the spelling, *gait*, *gate*.

3. *Ger*, *pret. gert*, I, &c. = cause, followed by an infin. = S. *let*; V. 20, &c. *Ger. gert* is, however, frequently found in Piers Plowman of the Lower Severn District, about A.D. 1362. The occurrence of the word in the H. Text is not a decisive N. mark at this time. *Gur* occurs once in Chaucer, C. T. 4130. *Gur* is still common in Scotch. It is Danish, but akin to A. S. *gearwian*, *gyrian*, to make ready, procure. Lat [let] occurs in the H. Text 209, &c., in the Mod. Eng. sense *allow*. See V. 20 and note.

4. Mell, 205, &c. = meddle, mix; Old French *meslee*, or *medlee*, a medley, melee, or conflict; Lat. *misculare* and *miscere*, to mix. This is a very common word in Barbour's "Bruce." N. B. also *omell* = on-mell = amid, 83, &c., *ymell* in Chaucer, C. T. 4169 [Tyrwhitts, Ed.]. There is another verb *melle*, to speak, talk, always construed with *of* which is found once in Chaucer and twice in Piers Plowman, never in "Bruce," from A. S. *maelan*, to speak.

5. Mun 410, &c., = S. *moste*, must, V. 560. *Mun* is a Danish word which at first meant futurity [= will]. It changed its meaning about the end of the 13th century. It is found in the "Ormin," written near Derby, about A.D. 1215. *Mun* is a distinctive N. word. It does not occur either in Chaucer or in Piers Plowman. It is very common in "Bruce," [*mon.*].

6. Myrk, myrkness, 891, 893 = dark, darkness; contrast V. 702. This is a distinctively N. word, common in Barbour's "Bruce." It occurs once in 'Piers Plowman.' The Southern transcriber [c. A.D. 1360] of Robert of Brunne, Lincolnshire, c. A.D. 1300, altered *myrke* into *derke*.

7. Sere, 240, &c. = separate, various. It is a Danish word found in Robert of Brunne, Lincolnshire, A.D. 1300, and is very common in Barbour's "Bruce," A.D. 1375-8. It does not occur in Chaucer or Piers Plowman. This is not the same word as Scot. *sair*, sore.

8. Spir, 183, 872 = make inquiry—a neuter verb. *Spir* does not occur in Chaucer or Piers Plowman. It is very common in "Bruce."

*Ask* is found both in the V. and H. Texts. It is a transitive verb.

9. Tite, tyte, *compar.* titter, 529, &c. = soon. It is a Danish word, not found in A. S. It is a Yorkshire word and occurs in the vocabulary of the author of this Text much oftener than in the "Bruce." It is not the same word as *tyte*, to snatch, pull with a jerk; Mod. Scot. *tit*; nor as Mod. Eng. *tight*; Mod. Scot. *ticht*, which is *tiel*; from A. S. *tihtan*, to draw. This word *tite* is not found in Chaucer or in Piers Plowman.

10. See notes to *tome*, 73; *bus*, 173; *graith*, 195; *gang*, 195; *barn*, 212; *dedyne*, 380; *will*, 413; *syte*, 654.

## II. GRAMMAR:—

1. The pres. indic. of ordinary verbs ends in *s* or *es* for all persons, sing. and pl. In common verbs, however, the inflexion is being dropped, e.g., in *say*, *do*, *make*, *have*, *help*, *wirk*.

The pres. subj. has no inflexions.

The S. Dialect has *est*, *eth*; *eth*, respectively in the 2nd sing, 3rd sing and all cases of the plural. The V. Text however has the Midland *en* in the Pl. or occasionally drops the inflexion.

Imper. 2 pl.—*es*, 450, 1038; in Chaucer—*eth*. Cf. V. 300, *schewh*.

2. The pres. pcp. flexion is *and*, 1111, &c. In the S. dialect at this time it was *ynȝ* and *inde*, V. 114, 686, 687. The assimilation of pres. pcp., infin., gerund and verbal noun had proceeded more rapidly in the S.; about A. D. 1280 the infin *en* was becoming *ing* in the S. The only *ynȝ*, *ing*, termination in the H. Text is that of the verbal noun.

3. The pass. infin. or the pass. gerund has *at* instead of *to* as its preposition. See 1002, *at gnaw*, but contrast 851, 1083, *to do*. In this Text *to* is the regular prep. of the ordinary infin., the same as in the S. Dialect; and the "Bruce," of A. D. 1375, never has *at* as the prep. of the infin. or gerund. In this case of *at*, 1002, we have an indication of locality S. of the Scottish border, where Danish influence was greatest.

4. The prefix *y* or *i* of the pass. pcp. of strong verbs is dropped in the N. Dialect. On the other hand the final *en*, *n*, is always retained. But note *cum*, 698.

5. The verb *to be* is conjugated:—

Pres. indic.—Sing. *am*, *ert* and *es*, *es*; Pl. *er*. Note that only *ben*, *beo*, *be* and *beoth*, never *are*, occur in the V. Text. *Are* is also very rare in Chaucer.

Pres. subj.—Sing. and pl. *be*.

Pret. indic. Sing., 1, 2, 3, *wus*; Pl. *war*, or *ware*, for metrical reasons *Wast*, 2 sing., is found in "Bruce."

Pret. subj.—Sing. and Pl. *ware*.

6. The verb *to have*:—

Pres. Indic. Sing. *haue*, *has*, *has*; Pl. *have* and *has*. *Haues*, 2 sing. occurs, 520.

7. The future auxiliary *will*:—

Pres. indic.—Sing., 1. 2. 3., and Pl., 1. 2. 3., *will*.

Pret. indic.—Sing., 1. 2. 3., and Pl., 1. 2. 3., *walde* and *wald*.

The forms *wolde*, *wold*, 88, 949, &c., have the sense of *wished*.

Also *willd*, 8, where the meaning is emphatic [= *willed*, *commanded*].

8. The auxiliary *sal*, shall:—

\* Pres. indic. S., 1, 2, 3, and Pl., 1, 2, 3, *sal*; also *ssal*, and for rhyme, *sale*.

Pret. indic. and subj. *solde*, *sold*, *sulde*, *suld*. The forms *sulde*, *suld*, seem metrically lighter than *solde*, *sold*.

9. Demonstratives:—S. *this*, *that*; [acc. sing. mas. *than*, 793 only; acc. sing. fem. *tha*, 1089 only]. Pl. *this*, 1087, &c.; [*thos*, 135 only; *tho*, 160, 1036, 1067, only]. Contrast the V. forms—S. *this*, *that*; pl. *theos*, or *theose*. *Thir* is a Danish form, found in Northern A. S. before the Norm. Conquest.

10. Third pers. pron. pl.—*thai*, *thaire*, *tham*; V. *thei*, *heore* or *heor*, *hem*; Chaucer, *they*, *here* or *her*, *hem*. These H. forms are found in Northern A. S. before the Norm. Conquest.

11. Third pers. pron. sing. fem. *scho*, also *sho*, 758, and *'so*, 796; A. S. *heo*; V. *heo*; B. *3he*; Chaucer, *she*.

12. The following N. forms also, mostly from Danish—

a. *Thethin*, thence, 705.

b. The plural forms *hend*, hands; *childer*, children.

*Hend*, 837, 1001, 1035, but *handes* also, for rhyme, 554; see *hand*, sing. 585. Compare *hondin* and *hondus* in B.

*Childer*; B. *childrin*.

c. *Swilke*, *slike*, such; V. *swich*; B. *soch*; also *sich* in H. 394.

Also *whilk*, which; V. *whuche*; B. *woche*; Chaucer, *which*.

d. *Until*, prepos. of place, for *unto*, *to*, 537.

Note *unto*, *to*, conj., 212, 1154, for Mod. Eng. conj. *until*. But these variations are here merely necessities of rhyme and metre, for note *unto*, prepos. 382, 566; *till*, conj., 600. Compare *fort*, until, B. 1200.

13. The relative is often omitted, e.g., 263. "He met a man was wonder old."

Compare Old Scotch Ballad:—

"Whaur sall I get a skeely skipper

Sall sail this ship o' mine?"

Compare Tennyson, a Lincolnshire man:—

"Mighty seaman, this is he

Was great by land as thou by sea."

This is a distinctive N. idiom. An idiom found in Chaucer goes to the opposite extreme of redundancy, for in Chaucer *that he*, *that his*, *which that*, &c., often stand for the relative.

14. The gen. has no inflexion in certain words *fader*, *brother*, &c., which have no gen. inflexion in A. S. This idiom is found in the V. and B. Texts, but not so regularly.

15. Omission of the anticipative *it* or *there*, e.g. 834 "Therefore (it) es better for us bath."

### III.—PRONUNCIATION.

The spelling and pronunciation indicate a border district, and a district where the A. S. influence remains, rather than a distinctively N. district. Thus we find—

1. Such forms as *about*, about; *obouen*, above; *ogaine*; *ogains*; *omang*; *omell*, among *omys*; *onone*. Compare A. S. *on gean*, *on mang*, *on middan*, *on misse*, *on ane*, &c.; also Chaucer's *ageyn*, *amonges*, *amidde*, *amis*. The "Bruce" has *among*, and *emang*, and *agayne*, prepos.

2. A. S. *a* remains in—*wrathe*, wrath; *rade* and *raide*, rode. Compare A. S. *wrath*, *rad*; Chaucer, *wroth*, *rood*.

3. A. S. *a* or *ae* vacillates between *a* and *o* in this Text. Thus we

find either *whar* or *whore*, where; *thar* or *thore*, there. Compare A. S. *hwær* or *hwaer*, *thar* or *thær*; Chaucer, *wher*, *ther*, and *thore* once for rhyme; "Bruce," *quhar*, *thar*.

*Thore*, *whore*, are Lincolnshire features of the first half of the 14th cent.—Kington-Oliphant, p. 474.

Note *aywhore*, 236, everywhere, A. S. *aeghwær*; and *wharthur*, 78, where through, B. 606, *wherthoru*; *therefore*, *theron*, *here*, H. 308, 383, 338, 587.

4. *Fro*, from, is always found, as in Chaucer, never N. *fra*, as in the "Bruce"; A. S. *fram*, which occurs only once, B. 931, although it has been revived in Mod. Eng. *from*.

5. A. S. *ae* becomes *a*, e.g. *lat*, let; V. *let*; A. S. *lactan*. Similarly *than*, then; A. S. *thænne*; V. *thenne*, *then*.

6. The *k* sound remains where in the S. and E. Midland, in the latter half of the 13th century, it had become *ch*, the same as in Mod. Eng., e.g. *mekil*, for *mucho*, *muchel*, much; *pik*, 442, pitch; *kyst*, 436, chest, box; in Chaucer, *chest*, *chist*; A. S. *cista*, [borrowed from Lat. *cista*].

7. *s* stands for the S. *sch*, *sh* [A. S. *sc*], e.g. *sall* for *schal*; *Inglys*, 518, for *Englisch*.

. But all three, *scho*, *so*, and *sho* are found for *she*, 796, 758.

8. A study of the scanning also reveals differences of pronunciation from the V. Text and Chaucer in certain French words. These H. pronunciations are often in accordance with modern pronunciation which has been compelled to follow the provincial and anglicised pronunciation instead of the correct pronunciation. We find—

*Paléis* in V. and Chaucer; *pâlais* and *palâis* in H.

*Purpóse* [subst.] in V.; in Chaucer, *púrpose*; in H., *púrpose* and *purpóse*.

*Manér* [independent subst.] in V.; in Chaucer, *manér*; in H. *mánere* and *manére*.

*Vertúwe* in V. and B.; in Chaucer, *vértu* and *vertúe*; in H. *vértu*, and once [?] *vertú*, 322.

. *Oustúm* in V.; *cústum* in H.

#### IV.—WRITING.

1. *Z* is written for Southern *z*, that is for the consonantal *y* sound slightly gutturalised. This *z* may still be seen in certain Scotch proper names, e.g. *Dalzel*, *Menzies*, in the Mod. Eng. *citizen*, and in a few Scotch words, e.g., *capercailzie*, *tulzie*.

[*z* occurs once in the H. Text for *z*. Compare 32 with 759, &c. In Barbour's "Bruce" we find *z*, *zh* and *ch* [kh].]

Gh, which does not occur in the V. Text, here represents the old guttural sound of *h*, i.e., *k-h*, also the sound *g-h*. See 33, 69, &c. but also

*noht*, 397. The absence of this *gh* from the V. Text and the use of *h* instead, implies a much later date for the H. Text as well as a N. origin.

*Y* is only a vowel still, as in the V. Text. This fact at once condemns Horstmann's conjectural reading *ye* for the MS. *the* in H. 80.

*W* is passing into being a vowel symbol as well as a consonant symbol. When it follows another vowel as in *aw*, *ow*, it seems to have indicated a double sound *ah-oo*, *oh-oo*, as contrasted with *au*, *ou*, which were diphthongs.

*Th* and *p* both are used in the H. Text, only *p* in the V. and B. Texts. *Th* consistently represents the *th* sound in *thin*, &c. whereas *p* always represents the *dh* sound in *thine*, &c.

#### NOTES.

Misprints:—949, *made* for *mede*; 980, *pai* for *thai*; 993, *pou* for *thou*; 1016, *sum* for *sun*; 1069, *ou* for *on*; 1097, *wrote* for *wote*.

Scribe's errors:—100, *my* for *may*; 177, *thai* for *thi*; 235, 1145, *had* for *bad*; 512, 1059, *thece* for *teche*.

3. *Techid*:—Contrast with the V. conjugation, *teche*, *tauht*, *itauht*. This was a rare verb in N. Eng., its equivalents being *lere*, the common verb in this text, and *ken*, cause to know.

4. *Sun*:—son. Both forms are equally common here. *Sune* occurs elsewhere in Mid. Eng., though rare. In 32, the scribe had first written *son*, and then corrected it to *sun*. A. S. *sunu*.

Similarly *sune* and *sone*, soon, 150, 23, &c.; A. S. *sona*. Also *wurle* and *wordes*, 104, 105. The forms with *o* are evidently lighter metrically than those with *u*. Nevertheless the forms *sulde*, *suld*, should, are metrically lighter than *solde*, *sold*. See note to *awin*, *owin*, 1009.

4. *Kun*:—a N. form of the infin. of *can*, know, be able. Cf. *cunne* in Wycliffe, &c.; A. S. infin. *cunnan*. The form of the infin. in Chaucer and the S. is *conne*. See Murray's New Eng. Dict. The forms of *can* found here are—Infin. *kun*; pres. indic. *can*; pret. *couth*, *couth*; pass. pcp. *cuth*, 730. It has not yet become an auxiliary verb only, although here considerably nearer that state than in Chaucer, where it is both an auxiliary and an independent verb. A. S. *cunnan*, *cann*, *canst*, *cunnon*, *cuthē*, *cuth*. *Qan* occurs only twice in the V. Text—*con*, sing. pres. indic. 139, and *unkunnyngliche*, 157, and in both cases it means *know*. In the B. Text, it is as in Chaucer. The other verbs derived from *cunnan* are—

*Ken*: In N. Eng. a weak verb *ken* had also grown out of A. S. *cunnan*, with the meaning *know*, *be aware*, *understand*. Its parts found here

are—pres. indic. *ken*; pret. *kend*; pep. pass. *kend*. This weak verb is not found in Chaucer or in the S., though common in Piers Plowman.

*Ken*: declare, teach, cause to know—A. S. *cennan* [w. v.], bring forth, declare, is also found in this Text, 838, &c., in the pep. pass. *kend*. It is very common in Piers Plowman, *kenne*, but is not found in Chaucer or in the V. Text. This word the S. transcriber [A.D. 1360] of Robert of Brunne [1300] altered to *teche*—Kington-Oliphant, p. 586.

*Conne*: con, learn—A. S. *cunnian* [w. v.], seek to know, examine, is found in Chaucer, but not in this H. Text. *Conne* in Chaucer is also the pres. subj. of *can*.

*Kythe*: shew, make known—A. S. *cythan*, from *cuth*, the pep. pass. of *cunnan*—is also found here, in the pret. *kyd*, *kid*, 113, &c. It occurs in Chaucer but not in the V. Text. *Shew* itself is also found in this H. Text.

The variety of words here, in contrast to the simplicity of the vocabulary of the V. Text and even that of Chaucer, is due to the semi-Danish locality of the H. author.

The H. Text has *can*, *ken*, *ken* (caus.), *kythe*, *tech*, *lere* [= *teach*, also *learn*], *wit*, *shew*, *know*; whereas the V. Text for all these has only *can* (V. 139), *shew*, *tech*, *wit*, *know*.

8. *Him seluyn*:—himself. See 56. The form occurs in Chaucer. But this Text is far in advance of Chaucer and Piers Plowman in idiom. *Himself*, &c., are not infrequently used here alone as nominatives. See 341, 350, 556. In Chaucer they are used only after their own noun or pronoun, or are governed by a verb or preposition. This use of the datives *himself*, &c., alone, as nominatives, is found though rarely, in A. S. It is also found in Barbour's "Bruce."

As in the V. Text the prons. are used reflexively without *self*. See notes to V. 77, 309.

The inflexion *en*, *yn*, in *him selven*, *him seluyn*, probably stands for the old dat. inflexion *um*—*him selfum*.

8. *Willd*:—willed. See p. 97. A similar new form occurs B. 8, *willuid*, bequeathed in their wills; also B. 492, *wilwid*, willed, resolved; also *wilueth*, B. 1140.

9. *Noy*:—was as common as *annoy* at this date. For the subst. *noy*, see H. 671, and for the subst. *anoy*, B. 946.

13. *Meke* and *myld*:—We note the early conjunction of the epithets, now associated in this combination with Christ. *Meke*: (verb,) *make* meek, humble, 964.

18. *Sun*:—seen—by necessity of rhyme. N. B. *sene*, 174, &c. Infin. and gerund, *se*, 77, &c.; pres. indic. and subj. *se*, 541, &c. See note to V. 46.

20. *Ayre*:—heir; Old Fr. *eir*; Lat. *haeres*. Note *ayres*, heiress, 754.



21. In hy:—in haste. The phrase occurs several times in Chaucer and is common in Barbour. See note to V. 494. See H. 362 and note to *hy*, high, B. 295.

29. Chesed:—chose; *chesit* in "Bruce," 1375—a weak verb in N. Eng. Compare B. 649, 667, 669, *chese*, *ches*, *chose*; A. S. *ceosan*, *ceas*, *coren*. The A. S. and S. Eng. strong conjugation has survived; see note to *tech*, H. 3. Murray, New Eng. Dict., gives no earlier instance of *chesed* than 1340. The writer is Hampole, a N. writer in this very district, A.D. 1340, which may be taken as the earliest possible date for this Text, whose date we have put at A.D. 1400.

41. Al wise:—every-wise, in every manner. Cf. 117, "on all wise"; 1109, "on alkyns wise," in manner of every kind; B. 839, "in no wise." A. S. *wise*. *Alway*, H. 708, V. 757; *alwey*, B. 1221; *al wais*, are the Mid. Eng. forms of *always*.

48. Of the haly gast sumdel:—by inspiration in some measure. Contrast the French expressions in the V. Text, 98, 277, "Of godus Inspiration" and "Beo spirit." N. Eng. was purer and the reaction in favour of A. S. was also proceeding. See note to H. 361. *Sumdel*: See notes to V. 7, 340.

53. Ordand:—ordained, *i.e.*, appointed, prepared. •

62. Sitoff:—guitar—Norm. Fr. *citole*; Lat. *cithara*. Is this *off* an instance of the dropping of final l in N. Eng.? Thus *knoll*, *poll* = Scotch *know*, *pow*.

64. Cumand:—commanded.

65. Neunyn:—name—a Danish form, found twice in Chaucer, but never in Barbour. It is therefore a lower Northern word. The common S. form is *nempnen*, A. S. *nemnan*. Note *named*, 21.

67. Ne desese:—no discomfort. *Ne* by assimilation for *no*, adject; see 102, &c. and note to V. 708. *Na* in Barbour. In H., *ne* = nor, A. S. *ne*.

73. Tome:—leisure—a Danish word. Cf. Scotch *toom*, empty. *Toy-me*, subst., and *tune*, subst., occur in Barbour. The word does not occur in Chaucer; it occurs once in Piers Plowman. •

78. Abaisced:—a N. form of *abashed*, alarmed, put about; O. Fr. *esbahir*, to astonish. This form as well as *abashed* occurs in Chaucer. See 596. This is a different word from *abase*, to lower; see Murray, New Eng. Dict.

80. Ye:—Since *y* is still only a vowel in the H. Text, this conjectural emendation by Hortsmann of the MS. *the* stands condemned. It must be *ze* or *ne*.

87. He loved him loyally according to his pleasure. Lely: or *lelliche* is a mixed word from Norm. Fr. *lel*, loyal, legal, true, as in the bilingual phrase "leaf and true," + A. S. *lic*. Als: as, also—A. S. *al-swa*, all-so, even so. The form *as* was as yet a S. form.

88. *Wist*:—by necessity of rhyme for *wit*. The conjugation of *wit* in this N. Text is:—Infin. *wit*, 125; pres. indic. *wate*; pres. subj. *wote*, 258, 350, &c.; pret. *wist*, 421, 455. See notes to V. 107, B. 27.

95. *Fand*:—Note the true strong pret. Even in S. A. S. we have *findan*, *funde*, *funden*. In B. 1074, 1120, &c., the pret. is *fond*. Note the pcp. pass. *funden*, H. 975.

100. *May comforth the*:—*May comfort thee*. *Comforth*: Is a 15th century alternative form of *comfort*. It is found in Hampole, &c., i.e., in the very district of this Text.

107. *Gun*:—did—contraction of *began*. This auxiliary is first found in the East Midland Dialect, c. A.D. 1200—Kington-Oliphant, p. 207. It is also found in Ormin, A.D. 1215. In Chaucer we find *gin*, *gan*, *gonne*. See 205, &c.; also *gan*, 534, V. 554; *gonne*, B. 116. In B. 455, &c., *gan* occurs for the Mod. Eng. *began*, but in such cases the infin. following has the prepos. *to*; the auxiliary *gan* takes the infin. without *to*.

108. *Soverainly*:—surpassingly. See Chaucer, Nonne Preestes Tale.

115. *Tene*:—grief, vexation, injury; A. S. *teona*, injury.

122. *On cristes lay*:—in Christ's religion. *On*: See note to V. 608. *Lay*: law, particularly in the sense of the O. French *lei*, religion, Lat. *lex*, *legis*, a law. The word *law* itself. Danish A. S. *lagu*, is a different word from *lay*. The root idea of *law* is *lie*, *lay*, from the idea of *law* being set or established. The two words *lay* and *law* were coalescing at the time, see "the law of Crist," H. 4, 900; "oure lawe," our religion, B. 821. In Chaucer *law* and *lay* are used interchangeably.

123. Of his assent:—of his opinion. This loose use of *assent*, concurrence, is recognised by Murray, New Eng. Dict. It arose about this time. Murray's first example is of A. D. 1377.

129. *Tone*:—taken, for *tane*, probably by necessity of rhyme; see also 727. But *token* also occurs in Mid. Eng. In S. Mid. Eng. the pass. pcp. was *take* or *ytake*; in N. Mid. Eng. it was *tane*, *tun*; infin. *ta*. *Tane* occurs once in Chaucer. The origin of the revival of *taken* has not been cleared up. Cf. *mase*, makes, 849, *made*, 906; but also *makes*, 5; *takes*, 561.

135. *Repreued*:—rejected, condemned, disallowed. See 737, 864, 984. These are the meanings of the Fr. *reprover*. The word does not have the modern meaning of *reprove*, censure. The scribe fell into the spelling *reproue* towards the end of this Text; see 864, 984. *Reproue*, condemnation, 394.

139. *Rede*:—advice; *reed*, B. 134; A. S. *raed*. It occurs in Shakespeare. *Rede*: verb, 150, &c.; pret. *rad*, B. 129. A. S. *raedan*, *raedde*, *geraed*. Note an A. S. weak verb become strong in Mid. Eng.

145. Gret:—wept; A. S. *grætan*, *gret*, *greten*. By this time *gret* had become a N. word. It occurs once in *Piers Plowman*, never in Chaucer.

152. "In lang bidyng ligges drede":—Note the proverb—Risk lies in long waiting, or Do not give your good resolution time to cool.

156. Semblant:—N. form of Norm. Fr. *semblant*, appearance; *semblaunt*, B. 1154. Similarly *terrand*, tyrant, H. 1112; *coueand*, covenant, 981, in "*Piers Plowman*", *couant*.

157. No the lese:—This is the correct Mid. Eng. form. *No* is the A. S. negative *na*. In *none-the-less* and *never-the-less* the simple negative is replaced by an adverbial phrase and an adverb respectively.

157. Zut:—yet. Compare *zit*, 126.

164. Mode:—mood. A. S. *mod*. Compare *flode*, 219, flood, sea, A. S. *flod*; *rode*, 485, rood, cross, A. S. *rod*.

167. And on what manere hé answérde:—The accentuation of the period of the V. Text would have been:—"And on what manere he ánswerde." Nor is *what* ever a relative in the V. or B. Texts as it is in the H. Text, as well as an interrogative. Cf. V. 230, 231.

173. Bus:—behoves—impersonal verb. See 667, 774, also the full verb *bi houes*, 1148, and the noun *bi houe*, 393. This is a distinctly N. form. It first appears, according to Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*, in *Cursor Mundi*, c. A. D. 1300, written in Lincolnshire on the Yorkshire border—a striking confirmation of the locality assigned to this Text; later it occurs in Richard Rolle of Hampole near Doncaster in the very locality of this text, c. A. D. 1340; it also appears in the "*York Mysteries*," c. A. D. 1440. Other forms, *bos*, *boes*, &c., occur *e.g.*, in the Chaucer Proverb, C. T. 4027—Ellesmere M.S.—

"Him boes serve himself that has na swain."

Pres. subj. *bove*; pret. *bud*, &c., [*bode* in Chaucer, R. of R.].

*Bus*, *bud* or *but*, may still be heard in Scotch, although no such forms occur in Barbour.

*Bus* corresponds to *moste* of the V. Text, V. 560, &c.

176. Dainte:—dignity, rank, pleasure. The form *deyntee*, pleasure, is in Chaucer already distinguished from *dignete*, worth, high office. The distinction is not observed here. See H. 207.

177. Ger cut:—Compare with V. 183 "*let schaue*." The H. phrase is partly Danish, partly Celtic; the V. phrase is wholly Saxon from the ancient kingdom of Wessex.

180. Sek or sak:—sack, sackcloth. Chaucer speaks of "*sacked freres*," as a special order of monks.

185. Bowne or boun:—prepared to go, bound—*e.g.* in "*Whither bound?*" It is a Danish word, a pass. pcp. "*Redy bowne*" is a Danish A. S. bilingualism. See 829.

191. \*Vouched saue:—condescended. *Vouch*, call, a Fr. word, had not yet been inseparably compounded with the A. S. *safe*.

195. Graithe:—prepare, make ready. See *graid*, *graited*, 987. It is a Danish word, occurring twice in Chaucer. In B. Text, *greythe*. The adjective *graithe*, direct, straight, occurs in *Piers Plowman*. The verb is common in Barbour, and is now distinctively Scotch.

195. Gang:—go; A. S. *gangan*, *geong*, *gangen*. This had become a N. form. It occurs in *Piers Plowman*, but not in Chaucer. Its forms are distinct from those of A. S. *gan*, *go*. See note to H. 314.

200, 201, 206, &c.:—Note the alliteration.

208. Ner:—nigher, nearer. A. S. *neah*, *near*, *nieht*. Note that *nearer* is a double comparative. Note the positive *ny*, *nyh*, B. 188, V. 85.

212. Barnhede:—childhood. Barn, 948: child; A. S. *beorn*. See note to V. 73. *Barn* or *bairn* is N., not occurring in Chaucer, although found in *Piers Plowman*. The form *burn* survives in the same district still; see Tennyson's poems in the Lincolnshire dialect.

227. At the large:—at liberty, abroad, at large. *Large* is an adj. in French, but also a noun meaning *breadth*. The French phrase "au large," from which this is taken, strictly means *abroad*. Chaucer has *at thy large*, *at his large*. [Prol. and Kn. Tale].

230. Sperd:—closed. *Sperren*, to close, bar, fasten with a spar; A. S. *sparrian*.

253. Knew:—know, distinguish, recognise. A. S. *cneawan*, *cneow*, *cneawen*. See note to *kun*, 4. The parts found here are—Infin. *knew*; pret. *knew*; pep. pass. *kneawen*, 297—practically as in A. S. and in Mod. Eng. This pronunciation is still heard in the district of the H. Text; see Tennyson's 'Northern Farmer.'

264. Koghand:—coughing. Note how strikingly onomatopoeic the guttural gh makes the word.

265. Lith:—joint. Lim:—Note that the *b* is a modern excrescence.

266. Nese:—nose—a N. form. 267. Roted:—rotted; A. S. *rotian*.

\* 275. Fele:—many. A. S. *fela*. Note the S. variant *fale*, B. 476.

278. At the ferest:—at farthest. This seems a mistranslation of the phrase *in feer*, V. 262. See note there. See *ferrer*, H. 825. An alternative Mid. Eng. form for the adj. and adv., viz., *ferne*, occurs B. 252; A. S. *feorran*, adv., from afar. Compare Mid. Eng. adj. or adv., *selde*, B. 233, from A. S. adv. *seldan*, seldom.

285. Regard:—is written *reward* in the MS. and should have been left so in the Text. *Regard* and *reward* are only different forms of the one Fr. word *regarder*; and both *regard* and *reward* are found in Chaucer in the sense of *regard*. Takes...reward: gives no regard, gives no heed. Take: see note to V. 739, *bi tok*. See H. 474.

*Reward*, verb, is found in its Mod. Eng. sense in "Bruce."

299. Merrið:—marred. See 890. A. S. *merran* (used in compounds).

301. Hight:—was called; see also 1112. It is the pret. of *haten*, to be called; A. S. *hatan*, *hatte*, *hatte*, Cf. pret. *heet*, *het*, B. 6, 817; pep. *ihote* B. 64, *hote*, B. 246. But note *hight*, promised, H. 778, and note to V. 62, from *haten*; A. S. *hatan*, *het*, *haten*, to bid, promise, call. See *hete*, promise, H. 665; *heet*, bade, B. 89.

303. Of herd:—Although there are many compound verbs in Mid. Eng. formed with the prefix *of*, this *of* which is metrically superfluous is probably inserted by a scribe by mistake.

309. Sutil:—subtle; *sutell* in "Bruce;" *suteli* in Wycliffe; *sotel*, *sotil*. in Chaucer and Piers Plowman. The modern form is re-latinised. Norm. Fr. *sotel* and *sutil*, Lat. *subtilis*. For re-latinising, see also note to 1105, B. 814.

314. Zede:—went—for rhyme. Cf. Mod. Scotch *gued*. A. S. *gan*, *eode*, *gegan*, to go. The regular conjugation here is *go*, *went*, *went*; see 391, 446, 547. *Zede*, although a N. pret. form by this time, occurs twice in Chaucer. The pep. pass. 'is *went*', &c., is common in "Bruce" and occurs also in Chaucer. See note to *wend*, V. 175. Note the infin. or verbal noun *go*, going, B. 1226.

318. Grett:—greeted—pret. of Mid. Eng. *grete*; A. S. *gretan*, *grette*, *greted*. See note to *gret*, H. 145.

324. Dom:—dumb; A. S. *dumb*; V. 290, *doumbe*; B. 255, *doume*. The *b* is not merely excrescent as in *limb*, written properly *lim*, 265. The dropping of the *b* occurs in other writers.

330. Habide:—see note to V. 366.

336. Sele:—time, opportunity, happiness; A. S. *sael*, time, &c.; *saelig*, happy; whence Mod. Eng. *silly*.

361. He welkumd him full wirshiply:—Contrast this Saxon line with V. 322, "And the kyng reuerentliche him receyued had." See note to H. 48.

380. Dedeyne:—disdain. This form is only quoted by Skeat, Mid. Eng. Dict. from the Scottish King, James I's "Kingis Quhair." Skeat mistakenly renders it *deign*. *Disdeyne* occurs in Chaucer.

393. Awin:—own. A. S. *agen*, the pep. pass. of A. S. *agan*, possess, own [pres. indic. *ah*; pret. indic. *ahte*.] From this A. S. verb come the three verbs *owe*, *own*, *ought*. *Owe* is the original A. S. verb *agan*; *ought* is a new praeterite-present verb from *ahte*; *own* is formed from the A. S. pep. *agen*.

With *awin*, compare *owin*, 1009, and see note there, also *owne*, *ouns* V. 353, 495. *Ought* is not yet always distinguished from *owe* in form, see *aw*, *ought*, H. 779. Nevertheless it is so in the earlier B. Text, see *au3t*,

*auzte*, *ouzt*,<sup>\*</sup> ought [=pres. indic.], B. 316, 697, 778. The inflected form *auztist*, B. 997, also shows that *auzt*, ought, was now regarded as a present indic., i.e., as a distinct now verb.

397. Blame.—As Horstmann suggests, *him* must have dropped out after *blame*.

403. Beme :—a trumpet; A. S. *beme*. Cf. Mod. Eng. *boom*.

413. Wo :—woe. *Woe* is a modern spelling. In Mid. Eng. we find *wo*, *way*, *wey*, *wogh*, H. 571; A. S. *wa* and *wea*. In A. S. and Mid. Eng. the word was either interj., subst., or adjective. Cf. 416, B. 991.

413. Will :—at a loss, bewildered—adjective. This is a form of *wild*, H. 288. Both *wilde* and *will* are distinctive N. words. *Will* occurs mostly in phrases—"will of rede," at a loss what to advise, at his wits end; "will of wone" or "will of weue," H. 656, at a loss what to think. Such phrases are common in "Bruce."

418. Pak :—small bundle, small company. It is a Danish word, very rare. By the time of Shaks. it had got a derogatory sense.

422. Biforn :—is probably here a mistake for *bifore*; see 735. This form is also found, 528.

450. Gose :—go—2 pl. imper. and indic., N. inflexion. See 1038.

• 450. Prays :—appraise, value. The distinction between the verbs *appraise* and *praise*, or between the nouns *price* and *praise*, was not yet established. Cf. *prais*, to praise, 399; *prise*, price, 450. A line in a poem, "Man's Perishing State" by Richard Rolle of Hampole near Doncaster, c. 1340, contains these same two terms—

"Ware thou as wysse praysede in pryce.

Als was Salomon."

454. Lak :—to blame—a Danish word. It is used impersonally in the sense of *lack*. *Lak*, subst. : defect, blemish, blame.

473. Wittig :—skilful, intelligent. A. S. *wittig*. A very rare word, used by Wycliffe.

475. And, syr :—Barlaam's address to Josaphat, interrupted at 367, is here resumed.

487. Carpid :—talked, said, carped, rebuked. *Carpe* is a Danish word, but found in Chaucer.

489. Who :—how. Note *who-so* for *how-so*, 814. But note *hou* and *how*, 935, 951. *Whou3* and *whow* for *how* occur in Piers Plowman. For *who*, who, as in Mod. Eng., see 105, &c.

498. Leres :—teaches. *Leren* and *lernen* in Mid. Eng., both mean either *teach* or *learn*. See 508, *lere*, teach; 974, *lere*, learn. In A. S., *laeran*=teach; *leornian*=learn. *Learn* is still used in Mod. Eng. in the sense of *teach* in the pcp. adjective *learned*. *Teach* also is found in this Text, but neither *lere* nor *lern* occur in the V. Text. See note to H. 3.

501. Foster :—This is an alternative Mid. Eng. form for *forster*. See *forest*, 93 ; *forster*, 509.

502. Gamin :—play, sport. A. S. *gamen*, sport.

503. Slone :—slain—by necessity of rhyme. The forms *sloghen*, *slozen*, *slowen* are given by Skeat, Mid. Eng. Dict., for the pret. pl., but no form with *o* for the pep. pass. A. S. *slean*, *slog*, *slaegen*. Compare *sleyn*, V. 425 ; *slane*, *slawe*, B. 405, 798. The infin., indic. and subj. in all three Texts is *sle*.

513. Er tow slegho :—art thou sly ? is it a trick ? *Sly*, originally meaning *skilful*, already had its bad sense. With *er tow* compare *artow*, B. 173. This was a common contraction. *Tow* is by assimilation for *thou*. Compare *miztow*, might thou, B. 276, 869 ; *woldistow*, B. 909 ; *louistow*, B. 1062 ; *sestow*, B. 1146.

514. Forwarde :—agreement, bargain. A. S. *foreweard*.

514. Fleghe :—fly. Cf. *fle*, fleu, 591, 930 ; *feld*, fled, 569. The distinction seems observed in this Text, although not in the V. and B. Texts. See note to *fleo*, V. 67. With *feld*, fled, compare *brid*, *bryd*, bird, V. 422, B. 420.

518-9. Non pro, &c. :—Prefixing *Nec* we get two good lines of Ovidian hexameter and pentameter verse.

527. And :—This is the general conj., used here for *if*. Later the redundant form *and if* or *an if* is common. Kington-Oliphant notes an instance of *and if* A.D. 1280.

532. Gripe :—vulture—a Danish word. Cf. V. 474.

542. Prophetes :—This is an impers. verb in the V. Text, 427. Note the proof of later date or greater advance in language here.

553. Ofrandes :—offerings. As in S. Eng., the infin. has here taken the N. pep. form in *and*.

560. Perish and spill :—a bilingual phrase. See note to V. 68.

570. Dyke :—ditch, trench. A. S. *dic*, mound or ditch. In “Bruce” it only means *ditch*, *trench*. In Mod. Scotch, *dyke* only means a rude stone or earth wall. Cf. Lat. *vallis* and *vallum*. The verb *dike*, *ditch* occurs in Chaucer and is common in *Piers Plowman*.

573. Fest :—fastened. A. S. *faestan* ; Mid. Eng. *fasten* or *fest* ; pret. *fest* or *faest* ; pep. pass. *fested*. In A. S. and Mid. Eng. it is a weak verb.

577. Sunder :—*adverb*, separate, asunder. Note the S. equivalent *atweyn*.

584. Camb :—Note *combe*, 608, by necessity of rhyme.

585. Hent :—seize. A. S. *hentan*. It is akin to *hand*.

593. Angers :—afflictions, angers, pains—a Danish word.

595. Traist :—for *trist*, trust, by necessity of rhyme ; cf. 616, &c. See note to V. 119.

598. Daws :—dawns. *Daw* is the older and more correct form ; A. S. *dagian*, to become day. “The day may daw,”—*Burns*. See note to B. 970.

600. Flit :—remove, depart—a Danish word, still current in Scotch. It is both active and neuter. In *flit away*, *flit past*, &c., we have a different verb, A. S. *fleten*, float.

608. Meno :—signify, mean, intend. The meaning *compare* would best suit this passage, also in 688, *remende*.

615. Lendes :—lands, remains, dwells. See also 1052. Here and elsewhere in Mid. Eng. *lend* seems to pass in sense into *long*, linger.

619. A kyng sum tyme, &c. :—This is here told at much greater length than in the V. and B. Texts, and with several variations. It proves the independent character of the H. Text.

640. Alkyn :—contraction of *alkyns*, H. 1109, of every kind. This is an adverb which had become adjectival in function. It is found several times in Piers Plowman, but is a N. phrase. See “Bruce.” The dropping of the gen. *es* is probably due to the influence of the N. idiom, see p. 98. The corresponding S. phrase is ‘al maner,’ V. 596. Cf. *nowekyns*, 848. *Sumkin*, *whatkin*, are also found, although not in this H. Text

649. Seres :—certainly ; see B. 555, *certes*, as in Old Fr. and Chaucer. Cf. V. 53, in *certeyne*.

654. Syte :—grief. A. S. *sukt* ; Icel. *sut*. The word occurs only once in A. S. and is very rare in Mid. Eng. See Bosworth’s A. S. Dict.

661. Bayn :—ready, willing. It is a Danish word, found only rarely and only in the North.

697. Trist and follows :—Note that some verbs have no inflexion in the 3rd pl. pres. indic., while others have. Note *trist*, 701. The rule seems to be that verbs oftenest used were dropping the inflexion. Compare *folows* with *foloes*, 559, and note the metrical difference.

706. Skyft :—divide, shift ; A. S. *sryftun*. *Shif’t* is found in Chaucer and Piers Plowman.

713. Mys :—*subst.*, want, lack, fault. It occurs once in Chaucer as a *subst.*, elsewhere as an adverb = *amiss*. *To mysse*, in lack, lacking, B. 372.

723. And plain powere :—A word of one syllable is evidently omitted before *and*. We may read “*welde* and plain powere,” authority and absolute power. For *welde*, see V. 264, H. 630.

725. Dene :—done, by necessity of rhyme.

729. Nakynd :—stripped bare. Mid. Eng. *naken* ; A. S. *nacium*.

729. Wile :—while, time ; A. S. *hwæl* [*subst. fem.*] time, while.

No distinction is observed here between *wile*, 729, 1089 and *while*, 1006.

731. Faut :—fault, want, default ; see *defautes*, 733.

745. Thi :—for *the*, by umlaut.



758. Sho:—scho, she. This form occurs no where else in the H. Text. The combination *sh* only occurs here and in *fiss**h*, 1161. The special reason of the form *sho* must be assimilation to the neighbouring *s* sounds in “also sho stode.” Note *so*, she, 796, for alliteration’s sake.

765. Myscheue:—mischief. Fr. *mes-chef*, ill head, ill end.

779. Wirshipid:—worshiphood, worship. The noun *worship* occurs V. 302.

782. Helde:—to tilt, incline, heel over. A. S. *heldan*.

783. Bilyue:—quickly. A. S. *be life*, with life; *blyue*, B. 747.

793. The pure man:—Note the weak declension of the adj., and compare with *pouer*, 756; *the pouer*, 804.

793. Than:—acc. sing. mas. of *the*, *that*. Cf. *hyn*, V. 320. *Thon* is still a demons. pron. in Scotch. See Jamieson’s Dict.

839. He kissed him than as custum es:—The giving of a kiss by the celebrant of the rite of baptism was part of the ritual in Carthage, in Egypt and Constantinople in the 4th and 5th centuries, probably also later. See note to B. 804.

849. Mane:—for *none*, by necessity of rhyme. See note to V. 153.

855. Les ne more:—for *ne les ne more*, neither little nor much, *i.e.*, not to any degree but wholly.

863. Controue:—the original Fr. form and Mid. Eng. form of *contrive*.

875. Tithinges:—tidings. In Mid. Eng. the sing. is used as well as the pl., e.g., *tithing*, 1120; *tidyng*, B. 808. A. S. *tid*, time; *tyde*, V. 75.

883. Efter:—after, oftener, very often. *Ofter* occurs several times in Chaucer. This is also the regular form for *after* in the H. Text.

890. Mayn a might:—main and might, might and main. *A* is an occasional contraction of *and* in the 13th and 14th centuries. *And* had already been contracted to *an* when meaning *if*.

899. To the heuyn:—against the heaven. For *to* = against, see V. 369, &c.

899. Heue:—raise, heave. A. S. *hebban*, *hof*, *hafen*; Mid. Eng. *heven*, *hove*, *hoven*. A. S. *heofon*, heaven.

901. Maystry:—mastery, feat. See *mayster*, 1017.

920. Schap:—shape, arrange. It is often a reflexive verb in Mid. Eng. as here, *set myself*. A. S. *scieppan*, *scop*, *sceapen*.

921. Felly:—cruelly. Norm. Fr. *fel*, wicked, cruel. The adjective survives in Mod. Eng.

926. For his sunes wele:—Horstmann quite unnecessarily alters the MS. reading, “For his sun es wele,” where *for* is the Mid. Eng. conj.

936. Wroken:—avenged. The A. S. and Mid. Eng. verb was strong, and meant *avenge*, without requiring to be followed by the word *vengeance*.

as in Mod. Eng. See B. 946. *Wreak vengeance* or *wreak revenge* is a modern bilingual phrase not found in Chaucer or Shakespeare or the A. V.; A. S. *wrecan*, *wraec*, *wrecen*; Mid. Eng. *wreken*, *wrak*, *wroken*. The intensive *awreken*, A. S. *awrecan*, occurs B. 55. For the A. S. subst. *wraec*, vengeance, we find *wreke*, B. 904; *wreche*, Chaucer; *wruke*, H. 1000; *wreak*, Shakespeare.

939. Ether:—easier. *Eth*, easy; A. S. *æthe*. See note to *unnethe*, V. 22. Note the French word *easy*, *uneasy*, 188, 189.

943. Halsed:—clapsed round the neck; A. S. *healsian*. A. S. *heals*, the neck.

949. Were:—for *ware*, would be, by necessity of rhyme.

953. Braid:—quick movement, start, wrench. A. S. *bregdan*, to pull.

957. Were:—war. *War* and *wer* are N. forms; S. and Old Fr. form, *werre*.

962. Whether enen:—a confusion of *whoever* and *whether*. For *whether*, see 971, &c. We find *whither* spelled *whodur* in V. 192.

966. Acorde us to clergy:—cause ourselves to agree to clerkly skill, i.e., agree to abide by the decision of scholars. *Acorde*: (trans.) reconcile, settle, or (intrans.) agree. See 787. Clergy: the clerical office, the clerical order, clerkly skill, clerical privilege. See Murray, New Eng. Dict.

975. Fare:—journey, doing. This inappropriate word seems chosen for the sake of alliteration. Note the alliteration 973–985.

985. Convicte:—convicted, convinced, proved wrong.

1000. Wightly:—actively, swiftly, strongly. A. S. *wiht*, a wight, creature.

1009. Owin:—Contrast with *awin*, 1008 and 1010. O is metrically lighter than a; note the sense. *Owin* merely repeats the previous *awin* and hence bears a lighter accent; the second *awin* indicates the contrast between Nachor's new scheme and the former scheme he had agreed to. Compare *ar*, or (ere) in note to V. 716; also *wote*, subj. for *wate*, in note to H. 88.

\* 1013. Puruayd:—provided, pre-arranged. Norm. Fr. *purveier*.

1014. Heght:—height. A. S. *hehthu*. On *heght*, aloud.

1016. Gain call:—call again, revoke, retract. See Robert of Brunne, c. A.D. 1300, "Calle ageyn thin oth"—Murray's New Eng. Dict. Note *zeyn-say*; *gainstand*; *zeyncome*, return; *zeynbought*, redeemed: *azenclepe*, rocal; in Skeat's Mid. Eng. Dict.

1024. Exite:—excite. See 1137. Fr. *exciter*.

1037. Lout:—stoop, bow down, worship. A. S. *lutan*, to bow down. The intensive *alout*, A. S. *alutan*, occurs B. 1034.

1038. Elementes:—(here) planets. See Murray's New Eng. Dict. Contrast *elementes*, 602, V. 531, B. 491. The Chaldeans or inhabitants of

Babylonia were famous for their attention to astronomy and astrology. Bel, the chief Babylonian god, represented the sun; and the moon and five planets were also worshipped. The seven days of the week were placed one under each of these seven "planets."

In the early Christian centuries there were in every great city astrologers and magicians calling themselves *Caldees*, and their astrological predictions were commonly regarded as an impious dethroning of God. Either they or the original Chaldees may be referred to here.

1039. The grekes:—a reference to the Bacchanalian and other revels.

1043. Egep:—a reference to the animal worship and especially the worship of the sacred bulls in ancient Egypt.

1057. Sal withouten, &c.:—idiomatic for *sal go withouten*, &c. The infin. is supplied from the context. See note to V. 168, and compare *Hamlet*, 3, 3, 4. "He to England shall along with you."

1066. Maters:—matters, subjects. Norm. Fr. *matere*; Lat. *materia*.

1087. Bot thir:—without these (preliminaries), if not.

1089. In tha wile:—in that time, meantime. *Tha* is Mid. Eng. acc. sing. fem. of *the*, *that*; cf. A. S. *tha*, acc. sing. fem. of *zeo*, *the*. Morris, English Accidence, limits this form to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. It is a S. form.

1098. Deszaito:—Note the other form, *dessayue*, 1139. *Z* must have been known to the scribe as an equivalent of *s* although he regularly used it in the N. fashion for consonantal *y* slightly gutturalised. Cf. *deceayt*, 174, where the scribe no doubt syllabled the word differently to himself, making the *c* (s. *z*.) sound go with the following not with the preceding vowel. This also explains *refuces*, *confused*, *uses*, &c., 1087, 1088, 1070; also *diseyuable* and *deceyuable*, V. 484, 538, also *disputacioun*, *desputasioun*, B. 928, 945.

1105. Enfourmed:—established, taught, informed. Norm. Fr. *enfourmer*; Lat. *informare*. In Mod. Eng. the word has been re-latinised; see note to *suttil*, 309.

1117. Wt the has meld:—with thee has shown, to thee has disclosed. Melden: to show—a very rare word. A. S. *meldian*. Cf. *mell*. p. 96, 4.

1127. Lurdan:—lazy rascal, vagabond. Old Fr. *lourdein*; also *lourd*, lazy; Latin, *luridus*, dirty, lazy. Though found in Gower and thrice in *Piers Plowman*, it has had a much greater vogue in N. than in S. Eng. and still survives in Scotch.

1164. Pelure:—skin-work, furs. Old Fr. *peleure*; Lat. *pellis*, a skin.

1164. Perre:—jewelry, precious stones. Note the dissyllable. Old Fr. *pierrerie*; Lat. *petra*, a stone.

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## NOTES TO THE BODLEIAN MS. TEXT.

In reading the Bodleian Text we find ourselves again in the extreme South at only a slightly later date than that of the language of the V. Text. The third pers. pron. pl. is again *they*, *here*, *hem*, although the sing. *it* is now found instead of V. *hit*; Chaucer *hit* and *it*; H. *it*. The *es* of the gen. sing. and nom. pl. are again pronounced.

We find ourselves even farther S. and more archaic in language than in the V. Text as the following contrasts show:—

(1.) In the B. Text, as in A. S., the 3 pl. pres. indic. is in *eth*, *ith* or *yth*; in the V. Text, the regular ending is *en*. Note, however, *han*, 487. *Ben*, 168, is subj. for *be*; A. S. *beon*.

(2.) The pep. pass., while dropping the *n* or *en* oftener than in the V. Text. and the S. W. dialect of before this date, still retains the prefix *i* [A. S. *ge*] much oftener than in the V. Text. Occasionally the *n* is retained or the *i* dropped for the sake of rhyme or metre, e.g., *don* for *i do*, 1163; *molt* for *i molt*, 736; *agon* for *ago*, 1162.

(3.) The infin., while dropping the *u* as in the V. Text, pronounces the final *e*. But note 582, *ben*; 1090, *don*; 1231, *gon*. The gerund on the other hand, often retains the final *n*. See 559, 658.

(4.) The plur. of nouns ends either in *s*, *es*, or in *in*, whereas in the V. Text the regular plur. is *es*—except *eizen*, V. 317; *tren*, V. 677. Note *childrin*, 84 [a double pl. of S. Mid. Eng.—cf. *childer*, H. 81]; *hondin*, 382, and *hondis*, 1115, 1156; *addrin*, 491 and *adlris*, 463; *fone*, *fon*, *foon* and *fomen*, *fomon* and *fo*, all for *foes*, 29, 584, 616, 641, 643, 662.

The *in* is metrically stronger than *is*; cf. 463 and 491.

(5.) The B. Text, as in A. S., may prefix *i* [A. S. *ge*] to other parts of the verb besides the pep. pass. It also favours compound verbs formed with *ge*, found in A. S., but not in Chaucer or in the V. Text, e.g.—

17, *I souzt* from A. S. *gesecan*; 18, *I brouzht* from A. S. *gebrengan*; 353, *I se*, infin. from A. S. *seon*, or A. S. *geseon*.

The number of compound verbs formed with the intensives *for*, *a*, is also noteworthy, e.g.—

*Forbede*, 428; *forzete*, 604; *forlore*, 809; *forthinke*, 810; *forlete*, 906.  
*awreke*, 55; *agilt*, 304; *agast*, 581; *aslake*, 859; *areche*, 867; *agryse*, 876; *alout*, 1034.

Nevertheless the B. Text is later than the V. Text because—

(1.) Its archaisms being associated with signs of illiteracy, are not marks of old date.

(2.) The grammar is more varied and complicated, and less systematic than in the V. Text.

(3.) Its spelling is more modern, e.g., *myst*, &c., for V. *miht*, &c., as in

A. S., also more fancifully varied from A. S. *e.g.*, Mod. Eng. *now*; B. 773, *now*<sub>3</sub>; V. 68, *now*; A. S. *nu*; and B. 410, *how*<sub>3</sub>; V. *how*; A. S. *hu*.

(4.) Among special notes of later date are B. *it* for V. *hit*; B. *zhe* for V. *heo*, *she*.

The locality is apparently neither S. E. of London in E. Kent, nor so far S. W. as Dorset. It is, however, distinctly more akin to the Kent than to the extreme S. W. dialect and may therefore be located somewhere, about direct S. of London. [See note to B. 800.] Its date falls about A.D. 1335. Were it not that we meet with signs of illiteracy, one would be disposed to assign the absence of the French element to the reaction against French of which Trevisa speaks as taking place about the middle of the 14th century. See notes to 45, 66.

#### SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION.

(1.) In this Text there is a partiality for long vowel sounds, which are written with doubled vowels where in A. S. and in the V. and H. Texts there is only a single vowel. *H.g.*, A. S. *luctan*, V. *let*, B. *leet*; V. *wot*, B. *woot*; V. *dom*, B. *doom*; A. S. *raed*, H. *rede*, B. *reed*, advice; A. S. *rod*, H. *rode*, B. *rood*, cross.

(2.) The final *3* or *3e*, when not the relic of a decayed guttural is only a metrical flourish. This *3e* of course counts as a syllable. Cf. *foly*, *foly3e*. The preceding *y* is always long, and the *y3e* corresponds to the French terminal *ie* or English *y*, *e.g.*, in *cortesyze*, Fr. *curtesie*, courtesy. The final *3* along with the preceding *w* in *snow3*, 735, *now3*, 795, &c., also forms a short syllable, slightly guttural in sound, or an aspirate breathing.

(3.) The letter *3* besides representing the decaying guttural and this final metrical syllable which could be dropped at pleasure, also represents the modern *z* sound in at least two sets of cases. The first is the 3rd pers. pron. fem. *zhe*, *she*, 713, 1076, &c.; the second, foreign words like *Sarazen*, 988, *Saracen*, from Fr. *Sarrasin*.

(4.) The final *e* of the infin., of the 1st sing. pres. indic., of the subjunctive mood, of the plur. of verbs and the nom. and acc. plur. of nouns, of the dat. case (*e.g.*, in *to sothe*), of the gen. plur. like *our3e*, *here*, of the weak declension of the adjective, of adverbs like *thanne*, is to be regularly pronounced.

#### VERSIFICATION.

The scanning of the Text is ruder than that in the V. Text. The typical line contains seven accents, *e.g.*—

120. "They seide he wás abóute to ny'm : the kinglydom of' the ky'ng."

We find not merely the rude liberties of the V. Text such as beginning either half line with a foot of a single syllable, but many others such as—

- (1). Reckoning the pause as an accented syllable, *e.g.*—  
 124 "Send áfter hy'm to mór<sub>w</sub>₃: ' thát he cóme to thó."  
 80 "A chaúmbir óndir é<sub>r</sub>the: ' hé leet máke thó."  
 (2). To the second of two consonants coming together a helping vowel is sometimes given, making another syllable, *e.g.*—  
 59 "Fór(e)th wént this góod mon': in móche sórw₃ and wó."  
 169 "As this góod mon táu₃(o)t': this kny'₃(e)t háth I dó."  
 455 "Tó the groún(e)d óf the pit: he gán te lóke thó."  
 (3). The last foot may have only a single syllable, *e.g.*—  
 364 "Ihésu críst hym<sub>s</sub>éluc: ' thát gód and mán ís."  
 (4). Double vowels and diphthongs may be lengthened so as to form two syllables, *e.g.*, *seyd* in 40—  
 "Tho í't was v'p on hy': the bríd hym *seyd* tó."  
 760 "Thát 3e móot bóthe: ' dwélle hère wit mé."

Signs of illiteracy in the author or of a locality far out of the stream of progress meet us frequently in this Text. The period, be it remembered, was that just before the reforming efforts of Wycliffe, and the illiteracy of this monk is only in keeping with what we know from other sources of the condition of many of the clergy. Conspicuous among the signs of illiteracy are the phrase "John of Damascene," 1, which seems an illiterate rendering of his Latin designation, "Joannes Damascenus," the absurd mixed up statement, 978, about "Iubyter and Plato" as dead men who in certain countries were called gods, and lastly the use of such archaic forms as *cristni*, christen, baptise.—See notes to 800, 45, 66.

## NOTES.

Misprints:—228, *Thath* for *that*; 397, *ththing* for *that thing*; 405, 419, 485, *pt.* for *that*; 422, *thau* for *than*; 531, *thout3e* for *thou3te*; 871, *thuath* for *quath*; 1137, *sogge* for *segge*.

Scribe's errors:—905, *be* for *the*; 1177, *echin* for *techin*.

- 2. Im memory3e:—a case of assimilation. Cf. 163.

3. Egpte:—The title in some Greek MSS. is 'A spiritually instructive history brought from the interior of the country of the Ethiopians, called the country of the Indians.' For the relation of India, Ethiopia and Egypt in early geography, see *Intro.* by Dr. Macdonald, p. lvii.

6. Tho there:—then there; see V. 22, 360, 437. *Tho* is also used relatively = *when*, B. 981, &c.

10. Dy3t:—dight, ordered. Mid. Eng. *dihthen* or *dysten*; A. S. *dihthan*.

13. They:—though—conj. Thou, 812: though, yet—adverb.

16. *zerne*:—eagerly, with yearning. A. S. *georne*.

17. *Mæssageris*:—Note the omission of the modern *n*, as in Chaucer.

17. I souȝt:—is strictly the pcp. pass. of A. S. *gesecan*, *gesohte*, *gesoht*, seek, not of *secan*, *sohte*, *soht*.

18. I brouȝt:—from A. S. *gebengan*, *gebrohte*, *gebroht*, bring; see note to 17.

19. *Cirtil*:—kirtle, mantle; A. S. *cyrteġ*.

*Ther of no cortesyze*:—In regard to that no noble thing. “Freedom and curtesie” in Chaucer’s description of the knight is a bilingual phrase for nobleness, or gentlemanliness.

27. *Wit*:—know. The conjugation of *wit* in this Text is—Infin. *wit* or *wite*; imper. *wete*; pres. indic. sing. *woot*, [*uoot*, *not*], *wost*; plur. *wytyth*, 234; pret. indic. *wist*, *wiste*, *wyst*, [*nyst*, 220.] See notes to V. 107, H. 88.

30. *Hym seyde two*:—said to him. Also *to*, 18, &c.

33. *Queintyse*:—skill. Lat. *cognitio*. It is also spelled *cointise* in Mid. Eng. See note to *queint*, V. 103.

34. *Wyse*:—instruct, teach, guide. A. S. *wisian* or *wissian*. Again we meet a new word for this sense. V. *teche* = H. *ken* and *lere* = R. *wyso*. This is a different root from *awise*, H. 739; see note to V. 501.

38. *Nele*:—certainly will not. See *nil*, V. 38. The conjugation of *will* found here is—Pres. indic. sing. *wole* or *wolle*, *wolt*, *wole* and once *wele*, 731; pl. *wole*, or *wolle* and once *wele*, 697—meaning, *will*, *promise to*, *certainly will*. But also—sing. *wille*, *wilt*, 177, *wil*, 45 &c., or *wille*, 444, 601; pl. *wille*. *Wille*, 1, sing. and *wilt* are emphatic = *be resolved to*. Note that *wilt* is followed by the infin. with *to*.

Pres. Subj. *wole*, *wole*, *wole*; *wole*.

Pret. of *wole* = *wold*, would; of *wille* = *wolde*, wished or would wish. *Wold* and *wolde* are sometimes interchanged.

Negatives—sing. *Nele*, *nelt*; plur. *nelle*, 528; of *wole*, *wolt*, *wolle*; also *nold*, *nolde*, 706, of *wold*, *wolde*. See p. 97, 7; and note to V. 38.

40. *Strengthith*:—A. S. *strangian*; Mid. Eng. *strengen*, or *strengthen*. The V. word is *peyne*.

41. *Segge*:—say. See note to *say*, V. 41. The conjugation of this verb in the B. Text is:—Infin. *segge*, 151; *seze*, 174; imper. *say*, 37, 212; pres. indic. I *segge*, 41; he *seyth*, 923; we *seggeth*, 1167; pret. indic. sing. *seyd*, plur. *seyde*; pcp. pass. I *seed*, 144. Compare A. S. *secgan*, *saegde*, *saegd*. Compare *ligge*, in note to V. 128. *Seze* is an E. and S. E. form.

*Wit segge*, 639: withsay, contradict.

45. *Moot*:—mot, must. See 133, and note to *mot*, V. 49. *Mot* by Chaucer’s time meant *must* only in the mouths of the illiterate. This

is a proof of provincial authorship or of intentional use of the language of common people, if the date be only slightly before that of Chaucer, or of illiteracy if the date and place are the same as Chaucer.

47. Tholyd:—*Tholen* = suffer; A. S. *tholian*. The verb is found in Chaucer and Piers Plowman, but is now confined to Scotch. See 214, &c.

56. That me schold:—that men should. *Me* and *men*, sing. *mon* or *man*, are used in Chaucer and in Mid. Eng. generally for the French *on*, one (indef.); see 87, &c. The distinction between *mon* and *man* seems simply that *mon* is used ordinarily and with a neighbouring o sound, and *man* with a neighbouring a sound. *Mon* is also found for *men*, 29, &c. Note *wyme*, for *wymen*, 1044; *wome* for *women*, 1155.

66. Astronomyis:—This seems another sign of illiteracy. See Introd. and note to 45. There was a personal noun *astronomien*, astronomer, of which Murray gives instances from A. D. 1300 onwards, but no personal noun *astronomie*. Compare V. 82. "He gedered. of clerkes. of astro-  
nomye."

70. ȝif he most I the:—if he might prosper. *I the*, *i-the*, is infin. of A. S. *getheon*, prosper, not pass. pcp. of *theon*, Mid. Eng. *thern*, prosper. But this compound of *theon* seems to occur nowhere else in Mid. Eng. *Most* is praet. of *mot*; see note to V. 49.

73. Hauē chal:—shall have coldness. The metre shews that a monosyllable *schal* has dropped out. The form *chal* is for the sake of rhyme; the common form is *chil* or *chele*, 140; *cale* occurs, 1236; and *chald*, cold, [adec.] occurs in Mid. Eng.; A. S. *ciele*, a coldness. Murray New Eng. Dict., says this word *chill* had become obsolete by A. D. 1400 and was revived about 1600 as a new noun from the verb, with the meaning of the verb.

76. Tokenyng:—signification; A. S. *lacnung*.

79. On lyue:—on life, in life, alive. The phrase is little more than a mere expletive. See 910, 1111. It has existed from A. S., *on life*, down to Mod. Eng., *alive*.

80. Onder erthe:—The V. Text speaks of a palace not a cavern. The idea of a cavern may have been suggested by the words "Down in that Cite," V. 101. Ondir:—The o for u had been making its way S. from the Mid. dialect. Only *under* and *muchē*, *muchel*, are found in the V. Text; *under*, and *moche*, *mochel* and very rarely *muchel* are found in Chaucer; *ondir* and *undir*, rarely, and *moche* are found here, as in the Kent dialect of Dan Michael of North-gate, A. D. 1340. [Morris].

94. To comyng:—a curious intermediate phrase between A. S. gerund, *to cumenne* and the modern *to come*. The *enne* of the gerund and *an* of the infin. both became *ing* in the 13th century. We still use this *ing* form of the infin. or gerund after certain preps., e.g., "for coming,"



"without coming" although not after to [=at] as here. In the 14th century, however, *to* with the infin. in *ing* is found. [Morris, "Eng. Accid," p. 177, § 290]. A modern equivalent of *to comyng* is *acomyn*.

100. Ore:—honour, reverence. The commoner Mid. Eng. form is *are*; A. S. *are*.

102. Louz:—pret. of *laugh*; A. S. *hlehhan*, *hloh*.

105. Pur charyte:—for charity; French, *pour charite*. The occurrence of this French patch is no proof of learning in the author. It was a common phrase of beggars at this time. See Small's "Eng. Metr. Hom. of 14th century," p. 140. Other similar phrases are *par aventure* or *per aventure*, 106, 674, *peradventure*, *perchance*; French, *par aventure*. Contrast *by cas*, 12. Note also *mafey*, 199: my fey; O. Fr. *ma foi*.

106. Thin:—thing.

107. Vndirfong:—received. Cf. *ondirfong*, 113. *Underfangen*, *underfong*, *underfongen*; from A. S. *fon*, *feng*, *fangen*, or *fongen*, grasp, seize, take; Mid. Eng. *fon* or *fongen*, *feng*, or *fong*, 982. Note the intensive *afong*, A. S. *afon*, 1092.

113. Told:—reckoned.

116. Be lyȝe:—belie, tell lies about. A. S. *leogan*, *leag*, *logen*, to lie, tell lies. See note to V. 125. See B. 119, *lees*, [adj. and subst.], false, a lie; A. S. *leas*, false, a lie. Note that *lees* is sing. number. The sing. *lie* apparently is not found in Chaucer. It seems to be a sing. invented from the supposed plural *lees*. Compare *peu* from *pease* and *chick* from *chicken*.

121. Procurid:—obtained, gained over. This word does not occur in Skeat's Mid. Eng. Dict.

137. Wedir:—weather; A. S. *weder*.

155. Ere:—ear. *Ere* is the common Mid. Eng. form; A. S. *eare*.

159. Wher:—whether—conj. See *weyther*, 356, whether, which of two—pron. It survives in Mod. Eng. only as a conj. *Whether* is often a monosyllable in Chaucer and Shakespeare and is written *wher* or *whether* in Chaucer. A. S. *hwæther*, pron. or conj.

165. Make:—[subst.] match, equal, mate, spouse. A. S. *gemacu*. This form is found in Chaucer and is still used in Scotland. Cf. *wake* and *watch*, *milk*, and *milch*, &c. The transition from the Saxon c [k] sound to the modern ch [and sh] sound was only in progress.

172. Thouȝt:—seemed—from A. S. *thyncan*, seem, appear, is thought, not from A. S. *thencan*, think. See *thinketh* seemeth, 315. The Mid. Eng. verb from A. S. *thencan*, think, is here written *think* or *thenche*, *bethenche*; see 187, 535, 623, 993. Contrast also *bethenke*, *bethink*, 179, with *forthinketh*, *repents*, (*impers.*), 810.

The pret. of both verbs is *thouȝt*, see 1172. See note to *athouȝt*, 958.

182. Here:—V. *heore*, their. See note to V. 54. Observe the dissyllables in this line *alle*, *here*, *were*, and note the reason in each case.

186. Be loke:—shut up, locked up—the pcp. pass. A. S. *belucan*, and *lucan*, (*leac*, *locen*).

187. Say:—saw. This form occurs in the V. Text for *sai3* or *sauh* only when required for rhyme. See p. 64. The regular forms here are *say* and *sey*, 1058, 1062. Note *syz* for rhyme, 1065, 1105. Note *sey3*, 1110; *sey3e*, 1147.

191. Be schit:—shut up. A. S. *scyttan*, shoot, shut. Note that the adj. *shut* is akin to *shoot*, and that it is really a pcp. pass. See note to *schet*, 425.

202. Glading:—gladness. See note to V. 110.

207. Tht he on ryde schold:—On which he should ride, that he should ride on. This construction is occasionally found, e.g. Chaucer, "That I of woot." See Ellis II. 376.

209. Seke:—sick. A. S. *seoc*.

224. Bleryid:—blear-eyed. This is a form of the pcp. of *blere* or *bleri*, to dim. This pcp. was frequently used in connection with the eyes. There is also a Mid. Eng. adjct. *blere*.

224. Wlaffing:—babbling. See 'Specimens of Early English,' Pt. II. Morris and Skeat.

225. Schabbid:—scabbed.

225. On to se:—to look on; see 285, 1040. In A. S. the prep. became an adverb thus when its subst. was not expressed. The compound *onseon* occurs in A. S., but not this idiom which gives *an-zu-sehen* in German.

228. Pure:—pure, mere. Note this use so early. This was a use of the adjct. *cleun* as early as A.D. 1300—See Murray, New Eng. Dict., and of the adverb *cluene* in A. S.

230. Valle:—fall. This form was the usual one farther west in Dorsetshire, but the substitution of *v* for *f* was not confined to the extreme S.W., e.g., Mod. Eng. *eve*, A. S. *aefen*.

233. Selde:—seldom. In Mid. Eng. *selde* is an adverb = seldom; once in Chaucer, C. T. 8042 (Tyrwhitt,) it is an adjct. = few. It is contracted from A. S. *seldan*, or *seldom*, seldom. There is no adjct. in A. S.

234. To sothe:—at sooth, in sooth, in truth. See note to V. 143. Compare *for sothe*, B. 379, &c.

238. Ascape:—escape; see 1015. A similar form, *ascapie*, is found in Piers Plowman and Wycliffe. *Achape* also occurs.

243. Syke:—sigh; A. S. *sican*, *sac*. The verb had become weak by Layamon's date, A.D. 1205. *Sican sore* is a common phrase in A. S. Cf. "a sore sigh." Note *syche* for rhyme, 1110.

248. *Márchaund*:—Contrast *marchaunt'*, 252; also *márchaund* and *marchaunt'*, V. 279, 284; *sémbland*, H. 156, and *semblaunt'*, B. 1154. See note to H. 156.

254. *Deue*:—deaf—plur. of Mid. Eng. *deef* or *def*; A. S. *deaf*.

256. *Wondur stoon*:—*Wonder* is an adjunct, *wonderful*, as well as a subst. and verb in Mid. Eng. In A. S. it is used as an adjunct in certain compound words, e.g., *wundor-fact*, a wonderful vessel. For the subst., see 172, 288. For the verb, see 771.

260. *He*:—Note the mas. gender of *stone*, as in A. S.

261. *Leute*:—loyalty. Norm. Fr. *lealte*. *Leute* in *Piers Plowman*.

262. *Tit*:—tideth, happeneth, befallerh. The contraction of deth of the 3 sing. pres. indic. is tt in A. S. See *tite*, Chaucer 'Troilus,' 334; *for bit*, =forbedeth, forbids, B. 1088; *last*, lastith, 46. See *bydde*, 387, and note.

263. *Do wey*:—Make way, Away! Stay! This was a Mid. Eng. colloquialism. See notes to V. 63, 184.

263. *Sleue*:—sleeve. A. S. *slefe*.

290. *Ondirname*:—or *undernymen*, reprove, reprehend, receive. The word occurs in Chaucer and *Piers Plowman*.

295. *Hy*:—high. *Heigh* is the common Mid. Eng. form. *Hy* occurs in Chaucer. A. S. *heah*.

304. *Agilt ther*:—offended against them. *Agulten* or *agilten*—te, —t; A. S. *agyltan*, offend. It is followed by a prep. *against*, &c., or by an accus. See 1148. For *to*, against, see note to H. 899.

313. *Eylith*:—ails. That is the form in Chaucer and *Piers Plowman*. A. S. *eglian* or *eglan*,—ode,—od, to trouble.

316. *zeme*:—or *yeme*, care, thought; A. S. *geme*.

327. *Mendement*:—The ordinary Mid. Eng. form is *amende*. Old Fr. *amender*. The Mod. Eng. *mend* is also a contracted form.

330. *Wrecche*:—wretched; A. S. *wrecca*, an outcast, an exile. The word is akin to the verb *wrecen*, *avenge*, H. 936. The adjunct. form *wretched* occurs in the "Wooing of our Lord" about A.D. 1210.

332. *Syker*:—surely, certainly. See *sekir*, 376; *sikerly*, V. 284. This was a very early Teutonic borrowing from Latin *secūrus*. In France it became *seur*, sure. *Siccer* still survives in Scotch. *Certes*, H. 649, and in *certeyne*, V. 53, seem the corresponding Norm. Fr. expressions in Mid. Eng.

334. *Be goon*:—set, surrounded; A. S. *began*, *be-code*, *began*, to surround. See 342.

337. *Smere*:—smear; A. S. *smerian*.

337. *Ter*:—tar; A. S. *teoru*.

338. *Bo*:—both. A. S. *ba*, [neut. and fem. of *begen*,] both. See

640. Cf. *tho* for A. S. *tha*, the, those, they. Beyre, 1020: of both; A. S. *begra*, gen. of *ba*; but see *bothe*, genit., 1250. *Both* is a Danish form. Murray, New Eng. Dict., gives A.D. 1450 as the date of the latest occurrence of *bo*. *Bothe*, 518, 564, &c.

339. Wreyeris:—accusers. A. S. *wregan*, *wregde*, *wregd*, accuse; *wregere*, an accuser. See the pep. pass. *I wreyid*, 515. *Wreyer* is a very rare word in Mid. Eng. *Bi wreyen*, accuse, is found in Chaucer and in the latest translation of the Bible, 1881, [Matt. xxvi, 73.]

347. Glorith:—shines brightly, glares. A. S. *glaer*, amber; Icel. *gler*, glass. This rare word is a different word from the Norm. Fr. *glory*.

356. These two vesselis:—The author has already mentioned *four*. This confusion suggests that the writer had two Texts before him, one of which, like the V. Text, referred to *four* vessels, the other, like the H. Text, to *two* only. See V. 373, H. 436, 441.

367. Ek:—eke, also; A. S. *eac*.

383. Werching:—working. See *worche*, *verche*, verb, 926, 1179; compare *wirk*, verb, H. 554; *werk*, subst. H. 288, B. 624.

386. Renelich:—ruefully, pitiaibly; A. S. *hreowlice*. See *rewe*, grieve, 776; A. S. *hreowan*.

• 387. Bidde:—pray; *bydde*, 432, for *biddeþ*, 3 pl. pres. indic.; *bad*, 549, pret.; *I bede*, 749, pep. pass. A. S. *bidlan*, *baed*, *beden*. Contrast A. S. *bidan*, bide; *beodan*, bid, offer; *forbeodan*, forbid.

392. Do sey:—do so. *Se*, *sey*, are S. forms of *so*.

403. Gottis or gottus:—guts, entrails. This is probably a Norm. Fr. word; Latin *gutta*, a drop; A. S. *cwitha*, and Scotch, *kite*, belly.

405. Take:—a scribe's error, apparently, for *i take*. The pep. pass. does not always have the prefix, but metre here requires it.

409. Lore:—knowledge. A. S. *lar*. But *lore* seems here to be a variant of *les*, loss. See note to V. 57.

416. A drad:—frightened—from the A. S. participial *of-drued*. See note to V. 329.

• 417. Leng or lang:—a Mid. Eng. comparative of the adverb *long*. A. S. *lang*, *lengra*, *lengest*. See note to *bet*, 540.

422. Beter Is haue than weche:—It is better to have than to wish, i.e. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." The form *weche* shews that in some words *ch* had the French *sh* sound; see p. 61, 62.

• 425. Schot:—pres. or pret. of *shoot*. A. S. *sceotun*, *sceat*, *scoten*

428. For bede:—pret. of *forbid*. A. S. *forbeodan*,—*bead*,—*boden*. Note for *bi* for *forbedeþ*, forbids, 1088, and see note to *bit*, 262.

437. Up so down:—upside down. Note the original form of the phrase. *So* is a relative adverb, in *what part*. See Prol. to Chaucer's "Chanoun's Yeman's Tale."

447. *Geste*:—story, romance; as in the title, ‘*Gesta Romanorum*. Norm. Fr. *geste*, a thing performed. This story is in the “*Gesta Romanorum*”; see note to V. 490.

457. *zenede*:—yawned. *Ganien* is the commoner form in Mid. Eng.; A. S. *ganian*. In 484, *enyth*.

460. *Frete*:—devour, fret; A. S. *fretan*, *fraet*, *freten*, eat. *Fretan* = *fra-etan*.

464. *Loure*:—to lower, look sullen.

465. *Crop*:—top, protuberance, upper part of a tree; A. S. *crop*. It still survives in the connections “crop of corn,” “the crap o’ the wa” [Scotch,] and other special significations.—Murray’s New Eng. Dict.

474. *Chastith*:—correct, amend; Mid. Eng. *chasten* and *chastien*; see *chast*, 896; *chastise*, 904 and note.

481. *Slaust*:—slaughter. A. S. *sleahst*. Cf. the subst. *onslaught*.

485. *Wep*:—weeping—a verbal noun; compare *les*, V. 57; *go*, B. 1226.

487. *I bete*:—bitten; Mid. Eng. *biten*, *bot*, *bilen*; A. S. *bitan*, *bat*, *biten*.

480. *Mossel*:—morsel. This was the commonest Mid. Eng. form of *morsel*.

491. *Be trende*:—pret. of *betrend*, wind round. Murray’s New Eng. Dict. can only give three instances of this obsolete word in all Eng. Literature. Two are from Chaucer and the third from a S. W. piece “*Sir Fyrumbras*.” We note that this fourth instance is also from the extreme S. Etym.—*be* + *trend*, wind round, lean to.

512. *Bayly*:—bailiff, steward; Old Fr. *baillif*; Latin, *villicus*.

516. *Ofsente*:—sent for. The verb *of-senden*, occurs several times in Mid. Eng. See 538, 932.

517. *What on erthe to do*:—The saying is as old as the first half of the 14th century.

527. *ȝit*:—*ȝif* seems omitted before *ȝit*.

530. *Party*:—part, portion, side; Norm. Fr. *partie*.

532. *Comeliche*:—Horstmann suggests that this should be *comenliche*, commonly.

540. *Bet*:—better. *Bet* or *bette*, 566, was the earliest form of the comparative of the adverb. *Better*, the compar. of the adj. finally superseded it about A.D. 1600. Note the adverb *beter*, 390, &c. See note to *leng*, 417.

548. *Na*:—not, never; A. S. *na* = *ne*, not + *á*, ever.

565. *Be sette*:—set, placed, beset.

567. *Sely*:—happy, simple, humble; A. S. *sælig*.

573. *Stont*:—stands. *Stant* is common in Chaucer and is found

in S. W. writers. Pret. *ondirstood*, 181; pcp. pass. *ondirstonde*, 153. A.S. *standan*, *stod*, *standen*.

• 576. Eyse or e3e:—awe; A. S. *ege*. See 832.

581. Agast:—pcp. pass. of *agasten* to terrify; = *a*, intensive, + A. S. *gaestan*, to terrify.

589. Catel:—capital, goods, chattels; Old Fr. *catel*; Latin, *capitale*. The *ch* form seems later; it is not found either in Chaucer or Barbour or in Skeat's Mid. Eng. Dict. The meaning *cattle* occurs in Barbour, A.D. 1375. See note to *fe*, 719.

593. Lithor or luther:—bad, treacherous; A. S. *lythre*. The word occurs several times in Piers Plowman, and twice in Chaucer.

604. For *sete*:—Mid. Eng. pcp. pass. of *forzeten*, forget.

605. A worthless piece of bread in charity, men will give for him at another time.

610. *3elpe* or *yelp*:—boast—rare word; A. S. *gelpen*, *gealp*, *golpen*.

612. In is wele:—in his prosperity. This is Horstmann's correction of the MS. *is in wele*. Better for sense and metre strike out *is* as wrongly inserted. Besides, *his* not *is* is the gen. of *he* in this Text.

613. "Beth" seems wanting at the beginning of the line.

• 615. Theuis:—manners, virtues. A. S. *theaw*, a habit. *Theuis* is also the plur. of *theof*, thief; A. S. *thwof*.

615. Dreue:—driven; A. S. *drifan*, *draf*, *drifen*. Note I *dreuc*, 674, *dryue*, 28.

617. Goth by experment:—proceeds without any fixed principle. The reference is to the ignorance about his true friends on the part of the man with the three friends.

631. Tayl:—for *tale*, account, reckoning. The spelling *tayl* is not given in Skeat, Mid. Eng. Dict.

631. To broke:—pcp. pass. of *tobreken*, break in pieces. Infin. *to-breke*, 633. *To* is akin to *two*.

634. Steke:—*ysteke*, fastened, fixed, stuck; A. S. *stician*, stick, stab, [transit.] or stick, remain fixed, [intrans.] Both uses survive in Scotch.

640. Bq:—that is, both the tempter and the soul; although Horstmann conjectures that *soule*, 638, is a scribe's error for *bodi*, in which case *bo* would signify *body* and *soul*. For *bo*, see 338.

642. Fondith:—Mid. Eng. *fand* or *foud*, to try, strive; A. S. *fandian*.

• 644. Purchase:—acquire, pursue—etymol. sense. Norm. Fr. *pur-chacer*.

651. Ac:—but; A. S. *ac*. The word is rare. It occurs in Piers Plowman, but not in Chaucer. It survived in N. English up to the 16th century. This sentence is not completed.

654. Fleme:—put to flight, banish; A. S. *fleman*.

659. Be louid :—pleased. *Belove*, please, love.
669. War :—aware ; A. S. *gewær*.
678. Borgeys :—for *borgesis*, burgesses. Old Fr. *burgeis* ; Low Latin, *burgensis*.
683. Gyze :—guide, direct ; Norm. Fr. *guier*.
684. Wrotherhele :—calamity. Wrother : compar. of *wroth*, wroth, fearful ; A. S. *wrath* [subst. and adjct.] anger, angry. Hele : health. "To do well other wrotherhele" : to put right other calamity.
694. Secatoure :—executor, executor of a will.
710. In :—dwelling, lodging ; A. S. *inn*.
719. 3oue :—given. The conjugation here is—Indic and infin. *3ene* ; pret. *3af* ; pcp. pass. *3oue*. See note to V. 181.
719. Fe :—cattle, property ; A. S. *feoh*, cattle. See note to *catel*, 589.
720. Thonk :—thank. The conjugation in this Text is—Infin. *thank* ; pret. *thankid*, 718, or *thonkid*, 1186 ; pcp. pass. *thonkid*, 133. For the metrical difference between *thankid* and *thonkid*, see notes to *or*, V. 716, and *owin*, H. 1009.
726. Oure :—ours. These modern double gen. forms which are used independently not adjectively are found in the 13th and 14th century in N dialects, but not till later in the S. See note to V. 54.
736. Breme :—fierce, angry ; A. S. *breme*.
737. Be nome :—taken from—pcp. pass. of *benimen*. See note to V. 738. Cf. *By nome*, 1068.
741. Knowleching : knowing, acknowledging. *Knowleche*, knowledge ; *knowlechen*, acknowledge. The termination is A. S. *lac* which signified *play* or a *gift*, as in *wedlock* ; although in that word the Danish *leiki* is probably the original form.
750. In the stede : at once. *The* is demonstrative as in "The more, the better."
751. Vnkinde :—unnatural.
762. Beleue :—remain, dwell. A. S. *belæfan*.
764. Bouxum :—obedient, gracious. From the theoretical A. S. word *buhsum*, from A. S. *bugan*, bow, bend. *Unbuxum*, 881.
768. In this line *be*, been, seems to be omitted before *swythe*.
800. Cristni :—cristen, baptise. See 1020, 1170. A. S. *cristnian*. *Cristen* is properly Mid. Eng. adjct. and subst., *Christian*, although it is also found as a verb, V. 652, B. 803.

*Cristni* was a very rare archaic form taken by this illiterate translator from his backward dialect or from the formula of baptism. Murray, New Eng. Dict., only quotes one author as using *cristni*, viz., William of Shoreham, c. A.D. 1315, in the extreme W. of Kent, S. of London, the very

district of this B. Text. The same author gives the baptismal formula thus:—

‘Ich cristni the in the Fader name,  
And Sone and Holy Gostes.’

804. Kiste:—The kiss in this Text is made the ordinary salutation; in the H. Text, 839, it is the baptismal kiss. See note there.

809. For lore:—lost wholly. See note to V. 308.

814. Encheson:—occasion, reason. This French word, *achoisson*, has been re-latinised in *occasion*. See note to *suttill*, H. 309.

820. I liche:—like—adject. or adv.; A. S. *gelic* or *gelice*. In Mid. Eng. it is a S. word. Also *lych*, 704.

822. Fawe:—glad, fain. This was a Mid. Eng. alternative form of *fain*, *fayn*, 244; A. S. *faegen*. The *n* seems to have been dropped as if it were an inflection, like *owe* from *own*. This form occurs in Chaucer [Tyrwhitt's Ed.] 5802, and curiously there also as a rhyme to *lawe*. Note *slane*, *slawe*, 405, 798, for A. S. *slaegen*, slain; *lawe*, *laue*, 821, 1079, law, for A. S. *lagu*; *drawe*, 857, for A. S. *dragan*, draw, drag; *plawe*, 929, for A. S. *plega*, play; *dawe*, 970, for A. S. *dagum*, days.

833. Hem:—home—adverb; *hom*, 219, &c., is the common form here. *Hoom*, *hom*, is the form in Chaucer.

848. Of this life be cast: from this life be suddenly delivered. See New Eng. Dict., *cast*, 33, b.

857. Drawe:—draw, drag, pull, tear. Pret. *drou3*, 1189. A. S. *dragan*, *droh*, *dragen*. The two verbs *draw*, and *drag* were not yet distinguished. See *fawe*, 822.

859. Aslake:—diminish, become slack. A. S. *a*, intensive, + *slacian* to be slack or become slack.

867. Aroche:—reach, strike; A. S. *araecan*.

868. Drey3e:—dry—verb; A. S. *drygan*.

872. Foluid:—followed.

872. Morwe:—morning. The two words *morning* (*morn*) and *morrow* are now assigned to the two senses ‘the beginning of day’ and ‘the beginning of the following day,’ respectively, but that differentiation is not found in any of these three Texts.

876. Agryse:—be horrified, loathe; A. S. *agrisan*=*a* intensive, + *grisan*, shudder; with which compare Mod. Eng. *grisly*.

• 879. Fore:—for adverb to *fore*. See note to V. 239.

888. Mauschipe:—homage, honour. “Mauschipe thin”: an honour to you. Note how the modern words of this connection are all French.

900. What:—the neut. of the indef. pron. was used in A. S. in such phrases as an adverb=*verily*, *indeed*.

904. Chastise:—correct, punish. In sense this is an alternative of



Mid. Eng. *chaste*, B. 474, 896; in form it is apparently derived from the subst. *chastice*, Latin *castitia*, although Murray, New Eng. Dict., has no instance of *chastice* earlier than A.D. 1567. *Chastise*, the verb, occurs A.D. 1330.

906. For lete:—leave off, forsake; A. S. *forlaetan*,—*let*—*laeten*. See note to *let*, V. 461.

907. Leue sone:—Note the weak declension of the adjct. with the vocative case, as in A. S. That is, *leue* is a dissyllable.

908. Gramyd:—Mid. Eng. *gramien*, to vex; A. S. *gramian*.

917. Tyme it is:—there is a time. Note the three ways of expressing the Mod. Eng. anticipative *there* before is—it is, 917; is, 918; *there is*, 919. This does not indicate that the language was in a disorganised state, for all three idioms are found in A. S.

958. Athouȝt:—it repented; Mid. Eng. *athink* or *athynk*; A. S. *of-thyncan*, = *of*, off, from, + *thyncan*, seem. It is an impers. verb, hence *him* is here understood. The latest instance given in the New Eng. Dict. is in Wycliffe, A.D. 1382, where in the revision of 1388 it is altered to *repent*. There is an A. S. verb *athencan*, think out, devise, = *a*, intensive + *thencan*, think, but it is not found in Mid. Eng.

964. Wan:—won. This is the A. S. pret. sing. form of *winne*, also the regular Mid. Eng. and Mod. Scotch form.

970. Of dawē:—from days, out of days, out of life. Bring of dawē: kill—a Mid. Eng. phrase. Dawē = A. S. dat. pl. *dagum* and Mid. Eng. *daȝen*. The phrase was obsolete after the first quarter of the 15th century and in Scotch a century later. See note to *fawe*, 822, also *daws*, H. 598.

973. Gyge:—gage, measure. To. preche thy gyge: to estimate rightly your preaching, to know the worthlessness of your arguments.

978. Iubyter and Plato:—The conjunction of Jupiter and Plato as gods of a certain country confirms the opinion that the rhymor here was no scholar. See p. 115.

992. Departid:—In Mid. Eng. *depart* was either trans = *to separate*, or intrans. = *to become separated*.

1000. Dele:—part, separate; A. S. *daelan*. For the noun *del*, see note to V. 340.

1011. Lyste:—craft, device; A. S. *list*. This is different altogether from A. S. *lust*, pleasure; Mid. Eng. *lust* or *lost*, 1074.

1025. Acarful wounde:—a care-full wound, a severe wound See 563. Compare "My wound is grievous," i.e., *grief-ful*, Jeremiah, x. 19.

1039. Fayresse:—scribe's error for *fayreste*. But this may be an alternative form, for *posse* instead of *post* for the sake of echo of sound occurs in "The Cheuelere Assigne," 281, E. E. Text Soc. Cf. *lost* for *lose*, V. 452.

1074. There wit:—therewith, thereby.

1076. Saue that zhe was fadirles:—This clause modifies *rycha*. It is separated to permit of the rhyme.

1080. Rather:—compar. of the adv. *rathe*, early.

1101. Wenche:—girl, maid, maidservant; A. S. *wencle*, a maid.

1113. Herne:—corner; A. S. *hyrne*. The root survives in *horn*.

1117. Thenne:—thence; see also 1133. The addition of the *s*, making *thennes*, *thence*, is a later fashion. Cf. *thennus*, 563; *hennus*, 1134. Note *tho*=Mod. Eng. *then*, at that time.

1119. Bere:—bore. Cf. pret. *bare* in A. V. A. S. *beran*, *baer*, *boren*.

1121. Sote:—sweet. Cf. *swete*, V. 680.

1123. Segis:—seats. This is the same word as *siege*; Fr. *sège*; Late Lat. *sedicium*, a seat. Cf. the native English *seates*, V. 683.

1137. Frome:—by transposition for rhyme's sake from *forme*, first; A. S. *forma* or *fyrnrest*, superlatives of *fore*. This superlative in *m* is seen in the modern double superlatives *foremost*=*forme-est*, &c., also in Latin *primus*, &c. This rare word occurs once in Chaucer, also in *Piers Plowman* and *Hampole*. It belonged in Mid. Eng. to the E. and S. E.

1147. Pult:—pushed, struck. *Pulten* is a variant of *pelten*, *pelt*, which still survives. Fr. *peloter*, to knock about the ball. Cf. *pellet*.

1157. Blessid him:—made the sign of the cross upon himself. Line 1161 shows that *hym* here is reflexive.

1160. Nygremauncy:—necromancy, divination by communion with the dead. This is the Old. Fr. and Low Latin form of the word, possibly by confusion of idea with 'the black art'; as if from Lat. *niger*, black.

1162. A gon:—gone away. See *ago*, 1200. A. S. *agan*, *pp. pass.* of *agan*, to go forth; from *a*, intens. + *gun*. *Agon* or *ago* is also used as an adv., = Mod. Eng. *ago*. It is common in Chaucer.

1172. Crok:—hook, crook, wile, deceit. It is a Danish word.

1174. Haluendel:—Mid. Eng. substantive for *half*. See V. 730.

1176. It:—the londus, the kingdom haluendel. *Hem* refers to the same.

1187. zald:—yielded; pret. of *zilde*, 554; A. S. *gelden*, *geald*, *golden*.

1193. Fre:—noble, freeborn. In the well-known bilingual phrase of Chaucer "Freedom and curteisye," *freedom* means nobility. For the ordinary sense of *fre*; see 597.

1194. Destene:—destiny; Fr. *destinée*.

1200. Fort:—forth to, thenceforth till, *i.e.*, until. *Unto*, *to*, in Mid. Eng. could be a conj. or a prepos., just as *till* or *until* could be, and can be still. See p. 98, 12, *d*.

1211. Took:—See note to V. 739.

1228. Deo gracyas:—Deo gratias; Latin for "Thanks to God."

1244. Thedir:—thither; A. S. *thider*. In this word we have an illustration of a consonantal movement such as Grimm's Law describes. Note also *hedir*, hither, A. S. *hider*; *fadir*, father, A. S. *faeder*; *togedir*, together, A. S. *togaedere*; *wedir*, weather, A. S. *weder*—all in this Text; also *tithings*, tidings, H. 875. *Ded*, death, H. 66, &c., is from Danish *død*. The A. S. word is *death*, as in Mod. Eng.

1247. Thorw:—coffin; A. S. *thruh*. *Thruh* is said to be common in Bede, but in Skeat's Mid. Eng. Dict. only one instance of the word is given and that in a S. piece like this B. Text.



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## INDEX OF AUTHORS, WORKS AND DATES REFERRED TO.

A. S. = Anglo-Saxon, the English language of the period from A. D. 449 to 1100.

A. V., The = The Authorised (English) Version of the Bible published A. D. 1611. The Revised Version (R. V.) of the New Testament (N. T.) was published in 1881 and of the Old Testament (O. T.) in 1886.

B = The Bodleian Text of "Barlaam and Josaphat" which represents the dialect of the S. of England, about direct S. of London, c. A. D. 1335.

"Barbour" or John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, author of "The Bruce," written about A. D. 1375. He represents the N. Anglian dialect which was less modified by Danish than the S. Anglian dialect of Northumberland, Yorkshire and Lincoln.

Bruce :—See "Barbour."

Chaucer, the author of "The Canterbury Tales," represents the London dialect of the second half of the 14th century. The "Prologue" was written in A. D. 1388.

C. T. = Canterbury Tales; see "Chaucer."

Cursor Mundi, or The Course of the World, a work which represents the dialect of Yorkshire towards the Lincolnshire Border, i. e., the district of the H. Text, A. D. 1300.

E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.

"Ellis" = "Early English Pronunciation" by A. J. Ellis, published by the E. E. T. S. Gesta or Gesta Romanorum, i. e., Deeds of the Romans = a compilation of tales and their morals made in England about the end of the 13th century.

Gower = the poet, contemporary of Chaucer writing in the London dialect.

H = The Harleian Text of "Barlaam and Josaphat," which represents the dialect of the borders of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, c. A. D. 1100

Hampole or Richard Rolle of Hampole near Doncaster in S. E. Yorkshire, almost in the district of the H. Text. He wrote about A. D. 1340, i. e., about half a century earlier than the date of the H. Text.

Jamieson = Jamieson's "Scottish Dictionary," new edition.

Kington-Oliphant = "Old and Middle English" by Kington-Oliphant.

Langland :—See "Piers Plowman."

Layamon = the author of an English historical poem "The Brut" of c. A. D. 1200, representing the language of the central Severn district. Its language and unrhymed and irregularly measured lines testify to the persistence or the revival of Saxon.

Morris = Morris' "Early English Accidence."

Murray = Murray's "New English Dictionary" published by the Clarendon Press.

N. T. :—See "A. V."

O. T. :—See "A. V."

Ormulum an English poem of date c. A. D. 1200, by Orm or Ormin which represents the language of a Danish district in the N. E. of England.

"Piers Plowman, the Vision of," by William Langland—first Version, A. D. 1362; second Version 1377—representing the language of the Lower Severn district, but with many Northern words and marks. Likewise it is designedly provincial and dialectal, and therefore represents a still earlier stage of the language.

"Robert of Brunne" or Robert Mauning of Brunne in the S. W. of Lincolnshire, whose English may be associated with the year A. D. 1300. His book "Handlyng Syn" was begun A. D. 1303.

Shaks. = Shakespeare, the great Elizabethan dramatist, who represents the language of the last quarter of the 16th century.

Skeat or Skeat's Dict. = Middle English Dictionary by W. Skeat. It does not profess to do more than combine the Glossaries of certain Mid. Eng. Texts.

V. = The Vernon Text of "Barlaam and Josaphat," which represents the dialect of a district considerably S. W. of London, inland, c. A. D. 1300 to 1325.

Wycliffe, translator of the Bible into English and author of many theological works represents the dialect of S. Yorkshire of the second half of the 14th century. The date of his translation of the New Testament is 1380 although it was also revised in 1388.

# ERRATA.

In p. 63, delete "eiz, eyz."

" 64 „ " "eiz, eyz."

" „ " "456, 474."

" „ " two consecutive lines beginning "Eiz." and "Eyz." respectively.

In note to V. 22, for "there," read "then."

" „ V. 239 „ "before;" „ "before; B. 309, &c.;"

" „ V. 357 „ "Text has" „ "Text have."

" „ V. 357 delete comma after "nearer."

" „ V. 708 for "none and one are," read "none is adj. or subst. ; one is."

" „ II. 48 for "sumdel" read "sumdele."

" „ xxiii of Intro. for *before long* read *long before*.

In p. lix for *Barlaam* read *Balaam*.













